

NOTES
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EUROPEAN HISTORY
VOLUME III

BY WILLIAM EDWARDS, M.A.

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PREFACE

The History of Europe from 1715 to 1815 deals with the last stages of the Old Regime, the institution of the new political and social order which resulted from the French Revolution, and the work of Napoleon who represents both the practical expression of and the reaction against the principles of the Revolution.

Under the Old Regime the State was everything, and the State meant the Monarch. No consideration for the rights either of the individual or of the nation limited the absolute power of the ruler. The principle of the partition of territory without reference to the wishes or interests of the population was recognised by the Treaty of Utrecht; the seizure of Silesia by Frederick the Great and the Partitions of Poland showed that neither treaty obligations nor sympathy for the weak would prevent powerful monarchs from robbing their neighbours. Selfish territorialism is the distinguishing feature of the history of the time, and so low was the state of political and private morality that diplomacy often became shameless chicanery.

But while the power of the monarch was absolute, it was his duty to use that power to promote the interests of his subjects. The benevolent despots of the eighteenth century endeavoured to discharge that duty. Frederick the Great declared, "I am only the first servant of the State"; Russia and Austria owed much to the efforts of Catherine II and Joseph II.

The relations of the kingdoms of Europe one to another were determined partly by tradition, partly by the conditions that resulted from territorial changes. Austria and Great Britain had united to check Louis XIV, and during the early part of the century enormous danger from France entered the

continuation of their friendship. But the rise of Prussia, which threatened the supremacy Austria had so long exercised in Germany, and the need of protecting Hanover against a French attack led to the Revival of Alliances in 1757; Prussia and Great Britain fought against Austria and France in the Seven Years' War.

The growth of the power of Russia led to the first appearance of the Eastern Question in European politics, threatened the safety of Prussia, complicated the problem of Neutral Europe by establishing a new power on the Baltic and rendered more difficult the extension of Austrian influence along the Danube.

The problem of colonial expansion, which plays so great a part in the History of the Eighteenth Century, resulted in the extinction of the Colonial Empire that Great Britain had acquired by the Peace of Utrecht; led Pitt to form an alliance with Frederick the Great in order to "conquer America in Europe," and necessitated the development of the navy of the belligerents. The great increase in commerce, which was largely due to colonial expansion, increased the wealth and importance of the middle class.

The principles of the Old Regime were overthrown by the French Revolution—the work of the middle class inspired by the teaching of the Philosophers. The Revolution substituted the idea of the Sovereignty of the People for that of Absolute Monarchy; it asserted that government must be effected not only "for the people," but also "by the people"; it refused to acknowledge the legality of despotism, however benevolent. It led to the assertion of the principle of nationality which was the direct negative of the ideas involved in the Peace of Utrecht and the diplomacy of the century. By maintaining the cause of equality and personal liberty it liberated individuals from the bonds of feudal and class privilege; by building up "a new system of human relations upon a purely national basis" it greatly improved social conditions.

Napoleon's dominant personality profoundly affected France and Europe. His work in France may be regarded partly as the practical expression of the principles of the Revolution,

partly as a strong reaction against its political theories. In many ways, and particularly in the improvement and codification of its laws, France derived great benefit from the rule of Napoleon; but the Empire became a despotism as tyrannical as those of the Old Regime, and under it individual and political liberty were sacrificed to the development of Napoleon's personal power.

Napoleon's attempt to make himself master of Europe led to the strengthening of national unions, particularly in Spain, Prussia and Russia. But the necessity of combining against the common foe compelled the nations of Europe to unite, and the Congress of Vienna was international rather than national. The struggle between the two ideas of Nationality and Internationality was destined profoundly to affect the history of Europe in the nineteenth century.

Each subject is treated as fully as space permits, and this has occasionally led to the repetition of material common to two or more sections. The number of details is necessarily large, but wherever possible details have been related to the historical principles they illustrate. Full accounts have been given of the leading characters of the period, and an effort has been made to show the relations between great men and great movements. In view of the great importance of these subjects, special attention has been given to the French Revolution and the career of Napoleon.

This book is designed to help students who are preparing for the Higher Local or Higher Certificate Examinations, for scholarships in Modern History or for the history papers set in connection with the various University Examinations. But the author hopes that the book will prove useful also to students of History who are not taking the subject in preparation for some examination. He will be very grateful to any readers who care to make suggestions for the revision and improvement of this book.

PREFACE TO SECOND EDITION

The author is indebted to Mr. G. Clement Thomas, M.A., of Hove's Bay College, for pointing out a few errors, which have been corrected in this Edition.

PREFACE TO THIRD EDITION

The author is indebted to Mr. R. Maltby of Elsecar, Barnsley, who has pointed out a few errors, which have been corrected in the present issue.

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EUROPEAN HISTORY

FRANCE UNDER THE REGENCY OF THE DUKE OF ORLEANS

I. Orleans Seizes the Regency.

A. The two Parties.

On the death of Louis XIV two parties strove to seize the control of the Government. One led by Louis' nephew, Philip of Orleans, whom the reconciliation of Philip II had made next heir to the throne, included most of the nobles who were anxious to regain the political power of which Louis had deprived them and requested the legitimization of the Duke of Maine and the Count of Toulouse, the sons of Louis and Madame de Montespan; it included most of the lawyers, many clergy, and was supported by the people, the Parliament and the Jansenists.¹ The other, of which Maine was the leader, received the support of the Jesuits, Spain and Madame de Maintenon, and favored the continuance of the absolute rule Louis had established.

B. The Will of Louis XIV.

The will of Louis XIV had made Orleans Regent, but limited his authority by the appointment of a Council of Regency of fifteen members, of whom Maine was made guardian of Louis XV, who was only five years old.

C. The Parliament.

September 24th, 1715, the Parliament set aside the will and made Orleans Regent with full powers. By

¹ *Note on European History, Part II, page 605.*

accepting the decision of the Parlement, Orleans reversed one of the leading principles of Louis XIV's policy. He recognized the political importance of the Parlements and "deserted the old Bourbon principle that the state was the property of the King."

D. Orleans.

Orleans, son of Philip, Duke of Orléans, and grandson of Louis XIII, was a man of great intelligence and tolerant views; keenly interested in music, science and philosophy; an excellent speaker, he had served with success in a campaign in Spain. But he was indolent, easy bed, and utterly Vivacious. He was under the influence of his old tutor the Abbé Dubois, the clever son of a country physician.

II. Domestic Policy

A. Liberal Reaction.

The domestic policy of Orleans was, to some extent, a liberal reaction from that of Louis XIV. The Parliament was strengthened; the central authority weakened by the establishment of Councils to manage the business of State; the army was reduced; the Jansenists banished and the Jansenists released; an attempt was made to improve the financial condition of France. Literature became independent; Fénelon's *Télémaque*, which had been suppressed by Louis XIV owing to its optimism of the evils of the time, was published; Voltaire's *Candide* appeared in 1718.

B. Failure.

But the new policy proved a failure. Orleans was more anxious to secure personal power for himself than to help France; he and his discordia associates secured much of the wealth that ought to have gone into the Treasury; Parliament, though ready to protest against

adopted evils, offered somewhat faint-hearted opposition to the Regent from 1718-1720; a fierce struggle took place between the Jansenists, favoured by Orleans, and the Jesuits, supported by Dubois; the collages of Louis' financial reforms raised many; a party of the nobles steadily opposed Orleans, whose dissipation weakened his capacity for business.

III. The Government.

A. The Council of Regency.

Orleans appointed his own Council of Regency, of which the Duke of Berwick, the grandson of the great Condé, was president, and Malesherbes and Toulouse members.

B. The Six Councils.

Six Councils, each of ten members and consisting mainly of nobles, were established to deal with Finance, Foreign Affairs, War, the Navy, Home Affairs and the Church, the last being termed the "Council of Conciliation."

But the Councils proved inefficient and were abolished in 1738.

C. The Parliament.

The Parliament was a judicial not a legislative body, but claimed the right of vetoing legislation and protesting against royal edicts. Under Louis XIV these rights had been in abeyance, but they were passed by Orleans, and the reference of Louis' will to the Parliament seemed to indicate that it would exercise important political power in the future, especially as the members succeeded to their posts by hereditary right and were independent of the Crown. The Parliament tended to become isolated and, while it rendered good service by protesting against misgovernment, weakened its position and political value by "petty religious and political squabbles."

IV. Religion.

A. The Huguenots.

Orléans favoured religious toleration. He wished to revoke the Edict of Nantes, but found the opposition too strong.

B. The Jansenists.¹

(1) Persecution.

Louis XIV had tried to suppress the Jansenists, whose views had been condemned by the Bull *Unigenitus* in 1713; the Jansenist *Le Tellier*, a Jesuit who had succeeded *Père le Châtel* as Louis' confessor, pressed the condemnation of the *Moral Reflections* of the Jansenist *Quenau*; from 1713 to Louis' death the Jansenists were persecuted.

(2) Tolerance.

Galéra stopped the persecution; released the imprisoned Jansenists; made Cardinal Noailles, the strong opponent of the Jesuits, chief of the Council of Conscience; banished *Le Tellier*.

(3) The Jansenists and the Pope.

The Jansenists wished to secure the withdrawal of the Bull *Unigenitus*; the Pope and Jesuits refused, and four Jansenist bishops in March, 1717, appealed to a General Council. The Pope entered into negotiations with Noailles.

1729. Terms of agreement between Noailles, who accepted one rendering of the Bull, and the Pope received the assent of Parliament, but failed to secure the approval of many Jansenists. Seven Jansenist bishops again appealed to a General Council against the Pope.

The Government, influenced by Dubois, supported the Pope and the persecution of the Jansenists was renewed.

¹ *Note on European History*, Part II, page 622.

Finance.

Louis XIV's extravagance and the cost of his wars had ruined France. In 1718 the national debt, much of which bore heavy interest, amounted to two thousand million livres, the revenue was 196,000,000, the expenditure 242,000,000; Government paper was worth only one-third of its nominal value.

A. La Chambre Ardente.

The Council of Finances, presided over by the Duke of Beaufort, rejected a proposal of St. Rémy to declare a national bankruptcy, but in 1719 established a court, La Chambre Ardente, to try financiers. Informers were encouraged, much wealth was confiscated, many financiers were imprisoned and one was hanged. But the State benefited little, for much of the confiscated wealth went to Orleans and his friends, and wealthy financiers secured their protection by heavy bribes.

B. John Law, 1671-1729.

Law, the son of an Edinburgh jeweller, had been sentenced to death for killing a man in a duel. He came to France, and his undoubted financial ability won the favour of the Regent.

Law held that credit creates wealth and that a large issue of paper money would stimulate commerce. He failed to realise that under the corrupt government of Orleans it would be difficult to establish the public confidence on which credit is founded. He failed to estimate the economic importance of manufacture and agriculture which produce wealth, and attached undue importance to commerce, or the distribution of wealth. He wished to give the Government the control of finance and commerce, so that profits might be used to reduce taxation and the national debt.

(1) The Banque Générale, 1718.

With the permission of the Regent, Law established in May, 1718, a private bank, the Banque Générale, which was allowed by the Government to issue paper currency redeemable by gold of a fixed standard.

The bank had a capital of six million livres and issued notes and bills to the value of sixty million.

(2) The Royal Bank, 1718.

Law's bank proved so successful that in December, 1718, it was taken over by the Government and Law was appointed Director-General of the Royal Bank which controlled the finance of the country. Law now proposed that the Royal Bank should make a large issue of paper money on the security of the resources of the State, and that the Government should use the proceeds to repurchase offices which had been sold and to restore control of the magistracy. To assist the scheme no payment of more than six hundred francs was to be made in silver.

(3) The Mississippi Company, 1717.

The Mississippi Company had a capital of two million francs in shares of the nominal value of five hundred francs.² In 1718 it obtained control of the tobacco trade, the Mint and the Senegal Company, and, in 1719, of the French East India Company; it had practically secured the control of French commerce. The Government granted the Company a charter for fifty years and the right of levying indirect taxes in return for a loan of fifteen hundred million francs at three per cent to pay off the national debt. Government creditors were paid in shares of the Company.

There was a boom in the shares, which rose to fifteen thousand francs and touched twenty thousand.

² So-named after Louis XIV. Its capital, New Orleans, was named after the Regent.

1720. The Company collapsed; many people were ruined, although some original shareholders who had sold their shares made enormous profits. About the same time the Royal Bank had to cease payment owing to its reckless issue of paper money.

The failure of Law's schemes delayed the establishment of a State Bank and impaired the development of French commerce. "The finances of France remained their accustomed, more leisurely pace on the road to ruin."

(4) Second.

Law's fundamental error lay in his failure to see that currency is not wealth but only a medium for the exchange of wealth. All his contemporaries shared this view, which was not seriously challenged until the publication, in 1776, of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. Law sincerely believed in the soundness of his schemes and aimed at protecting the financial interests of France.

His schemes aimed at giving the government control of finance and commerce and were socialist. They were opposed by the Parliament on the ground that they would strengthen absolute monarchy, and for this reason Maupequin declared that Law was the greatest of all supporters of despotism.

VI. Removal of Orleans' Policy.

By 1730 Orleans had returned to the absolute government of Louis XIV. In 1728 he had intervened in the religious disputes, and in 1730 he acquiesced in the persecution of the Jansenists. In 1719 he suppressed the new Council. In 1718 he held a *Etat de justice*,¹ which limited the power of the Parliament owing to its opposition to Law; and in 1720 he exiled the Parliament to Pontchartrain.

[For references, see end of text note.]

¹ An assembly presided over by the King and attended by the Duke and Prince of France and by leading officials as well as the Parliament.

THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

I. General Conditions.

It was hoped that the Peace of Utrecht would establish peace in Europe, but Philip V of Spain and the Emperor Charles VI resented the terms of the Treaty and difficult problems had arisen in Northern Europe. In 1718 another great European war seemed imminent.

A. Spain.

(1) Philip V.

Philip V was, after Louis XV, the head of the Bourbons; although he had renounced his claim to the French throne in July, 1718,¹ he hoped to secure the regency of France instead of Orleans, and ultimately to obtain the throne of France either for himself or one of his sons. He was bitterly hostile to Orleans.

(2) Elizabeth Farnese.

PHILIP V, 1700-1746

(1) Maria Louise of Savoy =		= (2) Elizabeth Farnese	
Louis	Charles VI	Don Carlos	Don Philip
m. Mlle. de Montpensier, 1724	1745-1758	m. Maria Amalia of Savoy 1738-1758	Duke of Parma 1748-1758

Philip V's first wife, Maria Louise of Savoy, who was under the influence of the masterful Princess Ossuna, died in February, 1714. On September 18th, 1714, Philip married Elizabeth Farnese, alias of the Duke of Parma and Piacenza, who owing to her descent from the Medici had claims on the Duchy of Tuscany. She dismissed Princess Ossuna; who had steadily supported French interests at Madrid, and owing to her own strength of character and the sup-

¹ *Note on European History, Part II, page 682.*

part of Alberoni exercised a strong influence on Spanish policy. She determined to write for her sons, Don Carlos and Don Philip, the succession to Parma and Tuscany.

(3) Alberoni, 1694-1738.

Alberoni, the son of a gardener of Parma, had come to Spain in the train of Vendôme, won the favour of the Princesa Olivia and of Philip V, because Philip's chief minister and by successful administration greatly improved the condition of Spain.¹ He ensured the marriage of Philip and Elisabeth Farnese, who strongly supported his schemes for resisting the attempt of the Emperor Charles VI to restore Austrian supremacy in Italy and for reconquering Italy for Spain. Alberoni favoured Philip's designs on the French throne, and hoped by securing Italy and establishing close relations with France to make Spain the dominant power in Europe.

(4) Spain and England.

Alberoni desired to secure the help of the British navy and persuaded Philip on December 14th, 1715, to win the friendship of Great Britain, to whom he made valuable commercial concessions by the Atlantic Treaty.²

B. The Empire.

Charles VI was still at war with Spain; refused to recognise Philip V as King of Spain and referred to him as Duke of Anjou; welcomed at Vienna Spanish exiles who refused to acknowledge Philip V; he was not satisfied with the extensive territory he had received by the Peace of Utrecht—the Milanese, the Tuscan States, Modena, Naples and Sardinia—and wished to make Austria mistress of Italy. He regarded the recognition of the Duke of Savoy as ultimate heir to Spain and hoped

¹ *Notes on British History, Part II*, page 304.

to induce him to exchange for Sicily the Kingdom of Sardinia, which he had obtained by the Peace of Utrecht.

The Emperor was anxious to escape the help of Great Britain in his Italian policy.

C. Great Britain.

(1) The Hanoverian Succession.

The Whigs, who came into office in 1714, were pledged to support the Hanoverian Succession which had been guaranteed by the Peace of Utrecht. But it was contested by a strong party in the Imperial Court at Vienna; Louis XIV allowed the Old Pretender to live in London and to embark at Dunkirk for his expedition against England in 1715; Charles XII of Sweden, angry at the loss of Bohemia and Wallachia, was suspected of helping the Pretender.

(2) Bozen and Verden.

June, 1715. George I, as Elector of Hanover, brought the Duchies of Bremen and Verden from Frederick IV of Denmark, who had taken them from Sweden in 1702. Charles XII strongly resented the action of the Elector, whom he had long regarded as his "best friend," and damage done to British shipping in the Baltic aroused strong feeling in England.

(3) Possibility of war with Sweden, 1718.

March, 1718. The fear that help would be sent from Sweden to the Pretender led to proposals for an alliance between Great Britain and Russia which would have involved the intervention of Great Britain against her old ally Sweden, in conjunction with the Northern League—Russia, Savoy, Denmark, Poland, Prussia and Hanover. The final suppression of The Fifteen in October, 1718, ensured the Hanoverian Succession to England and rendered Russian assistance unnecessary. The negotiations with Russia were broken off.

(ii) The Treaty of Westminster, 1713.

George was anxious to remain on good terms with the Emperor Charles VI because the succession of the Emperor was necessary for the transference of two Imperial Seats, and George was anxious to secure his help, if necessary, against Peter the Great.

May 28th, 1713. The Treaty of Westminster pledged the Emperor and King George I to maintain each other's possessions.

II. The Position of France.

The leading part she had played in the War of the Spanish Succession had made Great Britain very unpopular in France, and much sympathy was shown for the Old Pretender at the French Court. But the death of Louis XIV led to the Regency of Orleans; the subsequent hostility of Philip V, supported by the legitimate prince,¹ endangered the position of the Regent. It seriously weakened the alliance between France and Spain and led the Regent to seek to strengthen his position by foreign alliances, especially as it was not expected that the pugnacious Louis XV would live long and his death would lead to a serious attempt on the part of Philip V to exclude Orleans from the succession and secure the crown for himself or one of his sons.

III. The Triple Alliance, January, 1717.

A. The policy of Dubois.

Dubois, who had visited England and was on friendly terms with Stanhope, resolved to break with the traditions of Louis XIV, to form an alliance with Great Britain and thus support Orleans and George I against their rivals, and give to each country the opportunity to recover from the recent war and to extend its trade.

¹ Maine and Toulouse had been declared legitimate by Louis XIV in July 1714.

Great Britain and Holland were also allies. As the result of personal interviews between D'Artagnan, George I and Stanhope the Triple Alliance was formed on January 4th, 1717, at the Hague between Great Britain, now suspicious of Russia owing to Peter the Great's invasion of Mecklenburg in October, 1716, France and Holland.

B. Terms.

- (1) France undertook to demolish the fortifications of Maastricht, to abdicate the Pretender, who was compelled to leave Antwerp, where he had been living.
- (2) All parties agreed to confirm the Peace of Utrecht, and that the Hanoverian Succession and the King's Government in England, "Orleans'" Regency in France and the defence of Hanover were assured.
- (3) George I retained the title of King of France; Louis XV was referred to as The Most Christian King.

C. Consequences.

The treaty made a revolution in European politics, and the alliance between Great Britain and France continued until 1763; it weakened the Jacobites; irritated the Emperor, who had never agreed to the Peace of Utrecht, some clauses of which he wished to annul; shamed the adherents of Alfonso and Elisabeth Farnese in Italy; promoted an alliance between France and Russia which might have proved dangerous to Hanover, Bremen and Verden; left George I free to assist Hanover by putting pressure on Prussia to resist Peter the Great. Great Britain, now the ally of France, Holland, the Republic and Spain, became the arbiter of Europe, and George I, as Elector of Hanover, gained great influence in the North of Europe. The French regarded the Treaty because they considered that it made France the slave of Britain; but it saved France, which was exhausted and isolated, from a renewal of the Grand Alliance. The

extreme Whigs maintained that it promoted the interests of Hanover rather than Britain. "I do not see," said Horace Walpole, "why the whole system of Europe should be turned upside down on account of Hohenberg." In spite of adverse criticism the Treaty proved successful; it promoted the best interests of Britain and France and helped to preserve the peace of Europe.

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History of France (Kitchin), Vol. III, Book V, chap. 2.
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 Vol. III, chap. 7, section 1.
Elizabethan Foreign Policy (Arragon), chap. 1-61.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. IV.

FROM THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE TO THE DEATH OF DUBOIS, 1717-1723.

The parties to the Triple Alliance were anxious to keep peace in Europe. War was raging in the North, and the opposition between Charles VI and Philip V was seen to lead to war in the South. "The bond of union between the questions relating to the Baltic and the Mediterranean was the identification of the interests of the Regency and of England."¹

I. The North of Europe, 1717-1718.

Northern Europe was disturbed by the war between Sweden, long the subsidized ally of France, and Russia, Prussia and Hanover. Both Sweden and Russia were anxious to secure help from Western Europe.

A. The arrest of Götsa and Gyldenborg.

January, 1717. Arrest in London of the Swedish ambassador Gyldenborg, and in Holland of Götsa, the Dauphin.

representatives of Charles XII. Their papers showed that they had plotted to send 12,000 Swedish soldiers to assist the Pretender in Scotland in return for a payment of £50,000 by the Jacobites to Gustavus, who had failed to secure in Holland the financial help Sweden urgently needed. Apparently Charles XII was not a party to the conspiracy, which aroused great indignation in England and added further justification to the Triple Alliance.

B. Peter the Great.

(1) Peter and France.

Peter, whose relations with George I continued unfriendly owing to the continuance of the Russian occupation of Mecklenburg, greatly feared that in spite of their differences Sweden would make an alliance with Great Britain. He tried to win over Orleans, who before the Triple Alliance had seemed disposed to establish a good understanding with Russia; had recently shown his hostility to Sweden by concluding in September, 1718, a treaty sanctioning the secession by Prussia of Stettin and other Swedish territory; and had, more recently, refused Gustav's request that he should act as intermediary between Sweden and Prussia.

Orleans' position was difficult. He was bound by the Triple Alliance to Britain, which was unfriendly towards Russia; he wished to conciliate Peter and to prevent the possible union of Russia and Austria.

April, 1717. Visit of Peter the Great to Paris.

(2) The Treaty of Amsterdam.

August, 1717. The Treaty of Amsterdam.

The Treaty of Amsterdam was made between Prussia, Russia and Prussia on August 10th, 1717, and provided that Orleans' Regency and right of succession to the French throne should be renounced; that the Treaties of Utrecht and Baden should be confirmed; that France should act as mediator in the

war between Sweden and her enemies. A French ambassador was soon sent to Russia.

The treaty was merely nominal. Prussia was Russia's only ally; Peter soon evacuated Mendenburg,¹⁴ and the failure of Peter the Great to obtain from France the support he desired may be considered the first decisive step towards the pacification of the North.¹⁵ Dubois showed wisdom in preferring to maintain the Triple Alliance rather than to conclude a close alliance with Russia which, although it had profited by the collapse of Sweden and gained strength owing to the policy of Peter the Great, was not yet firmly established as one of the Great Powers.

C. The Aland Conference, 1718.

Malmö, 1718. Alberoni now endeavoured to reconcile Russia and Sweden and to form a union of the North against France, and thus to prevent France from co-operating with Great Britain against Spain.

Peter now changed his policy and negotiated with Sweden. At the Aland Conference in May, 1718, Götsz proposed that Sweden and Russia should make a close alliance, the former ceding to Russia Ingria, Carelia, Livonia and Estonia, whilst Russia guaranteed the Swedish possessions in Germany.

This plan failed owing to the refusal of Charles XII to accept it. Charles was killed at Friedrikshall on December 11th, 1718, and the execution of Götsz soon followed.

II. The Quadruple Alliance, 1718.

A. Charles VI and Philip V.

The difficulties of Dubois and Stanhope were increased by the persistent hostility between the Emperor Charles VI and Philip V of Spain. George I wished to remain on friendly terms with Charles VI in order to

¹⁴ *ibid.* 421.

secure Imperial confirmation for the cessions of Breton and Verdes; Great Britain wished to keep Gibraltar and Port Mahon, which she had taken from Spain in the War of the Spanish Succession, and which greatly increased her power in the Mediterranean. The mediation between the Northern Powers was undertaken mainly by France; Stanhope undertook to reconcile Charles and Philip.

(1) The demands of Charles VI.

Charles undertook to recognise Philip V as King of Spain on condition that Sicily, Parma and Tuscany were given to him, and Montferrat and part of the Milanese to the Duke of Savoy to compensate him for the loss of the Kingdom of Sicily, which had been granted to him by the Peace of Utrecht.

(2) Stanhope's offer.

September, 1716. Stanhope, with the approval of Dubois, proposed—

- a. That the Emperor should accept the Treaty of Utrecht, recognise Orleans as King of France if Louis XV died childless, acknowledging Philip V as King of Spain.
 - b. That the Emperor should receive Sicily in exchange for Sardinia, which was to be given to the Duke of Savoy.
 - c. That, on the death of the living dukes, Parma and Tuscany should be given to Don Carlos, the son of Elisabeth Farnese.
- Philip V refused to accept these terms.

(3) The seizure of Sardinia.

The arrest at Milan of the Grand Inquisitor of Spain on his homeward journey from Rome instigated Philip.

August, 1717. The Spaniard seized Sardinia.

2. Alberoni's diplomacy.

The Treaty of Westminster bound Great Britain to support the Emperor, and she expected the other members of the Triple Alliance to join her.

Alberoni, now a cardinal, did all he could to banter Great Britain and prevent France from going to war with Spain.

(1) Northern Europe.

He tried to reconcile Sweden and Russia and to induce them to destroy the Triple Alliance.

(2) France.

Oriol was hampered by financial difficulties and the Pope reversed the Regent's policy towards the Jansenists and Jesuits. Alberoni tried to secure Oriol's support by offering to recognise his right to the French Crown and to cede Flanders to France if Orleans would fight against Charles VI.

Orlans refused Alberoni's offers and the latter, acting through Colomare, the Spanish ambassador in Paris, formed a plot, in which Brussels took a leading part, to make Maine the Regent instead of Orlans, to persuade Philip V to meet him at the Court and to induce France to break away from Great Britain. The plot failed; Colomare was expelled from France and Maine imprisoned. Alberoni's attempts to stir up risings among the Protestants of Languedoc and the Basques met with little success.

(3) Great Britain.

Alberoni promised to help the Pretender to get the throne.

(4) The Empire.

Alberoni tried, unsuccessfully, to weaken the Emperor by urging the Tunis and Ragusa, Prince of Transylvania, to attack Austria; he offered Spanish

troops to help the Duke of Savoy to take Milan and tried to induce the Duke of Parma to rise against the Emperor. But individual states were too weak for the task, and Alberoni failed to unite Italy against Austria.

C. The Quadruple Alliance, August, 1718.

Orbigny remained faithful to the Triple Alliance and joined Great Britain and the Emperor against Spain.

August 2nd, 1718. Owing mainly to Dubois' diplomacy, Great Britain, France and the Empire made an alliance, which Holland joined in December, and agreed

- (1) That Charles VI should renounce the throne of Spain and recognise Philip V.
- (2) Charles should give back Sardinia, which he should exchange for Sicily with Victor Amadeus, who was to be King of Sardinia.
- (3) His concessions to Tuscany, Parma and Piedmont to be guaranteed to Don Carlos or some other son of Elisabeth Farnese.

III. The Fall of Alberoni.

A. War.

- (1) The Spaniards conquer Sicily.

Victor Amadeus had come to terms with the Emperor and refused to admit the Spaniards into Sicily.

July, 1718. The Spaniards conquer Sicily.

The Austrians, relieved of danger from the Turks by Eugene's victory at Belgrade on August 13th, 1717, and by the Treaty of Passarowitz which closed the Turkish War in June, 1718, poured troops into Italy.

- (2) Cape Passaro.

August 11th, 1718. The British fleet under Byng utterly routed the Spanish off Cape Passaro, although war had not been formally declared.

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(2) France and Britain declare War.

December, 1718. Great Britain, relieved of danger from Sweden in the North by the death of Charles XII, declared war on Spain.

January, 1719. France declared war on Spain. The Duke of Berwick,¹ who had fought for Philip V in the War of the Spanish Succession, led a French army into Spain and took Pamplona and St. Sebastian.

The French fleet destroyed Spanish dockyards and broke the Spanish naval power in the Bay of Biscay.

(3) The Spaniards invade Scotland.

May, 1719. Complete failure of a Spanish descent in Ross-shire on behalf of the Pretender.

(4) The Allies retake Sicily.

The failure of Alberoni's attempt to stir up opposition to Britain and France in the North,² enabled Byng to keep command of the Mediterranean; he transported Austrian troops into Sicily and helped them to capture Messina and to reconquer the island.

B. Peace.

The Allies refused to make peace until Alberoni was dismissed.

(1) December 5th, 1720. Alberoni was ordered to leave Spain and retired to a convent near Bologna.

Philip V still hoped to regain Gibraltar and Minorca and to keep Sardinia; but Orleans remained faithful to the Quadruple Alliance, and Stanhope's Turners feared that her son might be excluded from Italy if Spain continued to oppose the Allies.

(2) February, 1720. Philip V joined the Quadruple Alliance.

Philip V renounced his claim to the Crown of France; restored Sicily and Sardinia (which was given to Victor

¹ Son of James II of England and Anne of Denmark. ² Page 19.

Anabaptists in return for Sulky); the succession to Tuscany, Parma and Piacenza was secured to the wife of Elisabeth Farnese.

(3) Spain was now no longer dangerous to France, and in March, 1721, a defensive alliance arranged between Great Britain, France and Spain provided—

- a. That Louis XV should be betrothed to the Infanta of Spain.
- b. That Mademoiselle de Montpensier, daughter of Orleans, should marry the Prince of the Asturias.
- c. That unsettled differences between Spain and the Emperor should be referred to a Congress at Cambrai.

The work of the Quadruple Alliance was done and it was dissolved. France became more friendly with Spain, which longed to regain Gibraltar; France and Britain, having lost the best of European interest, tended to draw apart; all three viewed with apprehension the power of Austria, which had been strengthened by her acquisitions in Italy.

IV. The Settlement of the North.

A. Sweden divides her enemies.

Sweden now attempted successfully to divide her enemies, of whom Peter the Great was the most dangerous. In April, 1719, he was ravaging the Swedish Islands and plundering and burning almost in sight of Stockholm. France and Great Britain acted as mediators.

(1) Hanover and Sweden.

November, 1719. Owing to Carteret's skilful diplomacy, Sweden ceded Bohus and Varden to Hanover for a million crowns, and Great Britain promised to mediate between Sweden, Denmark and Poland.

(2) Prussia and Sweden.

January 21st, 1720. Sweden ceded to Prussia Stettin, Western Pomerania, Uerdorf, and Wallin, and Frederick William I broke off his alliance with Peter the Great.

(3) Sweden and Great Britain.

January 21st, 1720. A defensive alliance was formed between Sweden and Great Britain. Sweden promised to give no help to the Pretender and to guarantee the Protestant succession.

(4) Sweden and Poland.

January, 1720. Frederick Augustus I of Poland made peace with Sweden.

(5) Sweden and Denmark.

July 3rd, 1720. Sweden and Denmark made peace by the Treaty of Fredrikshald, the latter receiving Schleswig, which the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp was forced to surrender.

B. The Peace of Nystadt, 1721.

Peter the Great, whose demand for the cession of all his Swedish conquests was strongly resisted by Great Britain; was now isolated; a British fleet was sent to co-operate with the Swedes against Russia in the Baltic, but did little, and Stanhope saw that Sweden could not resist Peter's demands. The death of Stanhope on February 6th, 1721, the Mississippi Scheme and the South Sea Bubble had greatly weakened France and England. Effective opposition to Peter seemed impossible, and, with the good will of Great Britain and Prussia and the mediation of the latter, peace was made between Sweden and Russia.

August 29th, 1721. The Northern War was closed by the Peace of Nystadt, by which Peter restored Finland and paid two million dollars to Sweden, which ceded

to Russia, Livonia, Estonia, Ingria and part of桂celia.

Duke had wrought from Sweden the mastery of the Baltic and made Russia one of the leading powers of Northern Europe. France and Great Britain were free from the difficulties that had arisen in the North owing to the fact that George I was Elector of Hanover, of which Alberoni had made skilful use in 1720.

V. The Death of Dubois, 1723.

Dubois, anxious to secure ecclesiastical preferment, had taken the side of the Pope and the Jesuits against the Jansenists. He was made Archbishop of Cambrai; in 1721, after strong pressure from the Emperor, Orleans, Philip V and George I, and after the expenditure of eight million livres in bribes, Innocent XIII, with great reluctance owing to his unusual character, made him a cardinal. In August, 1723, he became first minister.

August 10th, 1723. Dubois died owing to a slight accident which proved fatal to a constitution ruined by intemperance.

His domestic policy was a failure. His foreign policy was based on the maintenance of the Peace of Utrecht and alliance with Britain. Although conceived largely in the interests of Orleans, it was a statesmanlike and successful attempt to give France the peace she needed and to make peace in Europe.

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THE TREATIES OF VIENNA AND HANOVER.

I. Some Important Political Problems.

A. Charles VI.

(1) The Ostend East India Company, 1732.

Charles' main aim was to promote the commerce of Austria, which profited by the growing importance of Trieste, the possession of much of the Italian coastline and the decline of Venice.

The Spanish Netherlands had lost the advantage of the lucrative trade with the Spanish Indies when they had been transferred to Charles VI by the Peace of Utrecht. The closing of the Scheldt limited the trade of Antwerp. Charles encouraged the merchants of Ostend to open up trade with India, and in 1732 founded the Ostend East India Company with a capital of six million golden, hoping that the profits of the Company, six per cent of which was payable to the Imperial Treasury, would relieve his financial difficulties. He hoped to make Ostend a strong naval station and by establishing a fleet to weaken the naval supremacy of the maritime nations. The addition of a formidable commercial rival was strongly resented by Holland and Great Britain.

(2) The Pragmatic Sanction.

The death in 1711 of Charles VI's only son in infancy left Maria Theresa, his eldest daughter, who was born in 1717, heiress to the Austrian dominions. To ensure her succession he posthumously in the daughters of his deceased elder brother Joseph I, Charles issued the Pragmatic Sanction, which he had first published in 1703. It had been readily accepted by Austria in 1704, but was regarded with apprehension by Prussia, Bavaria and Saxony, which feared that it

might strengthen Habsburg domination in Germany. Charles' successive attempts to secure the confirmation of the Pragmatic Sanction by the Powers of Europe affected European politics for many years.

B. Elisabeth Farnese.

Spain was anxious to recover Gibraltar and to check British trade in the West Indies, whose friction arose owing to the methods used by the Spaniards to put down the extensive system of smuggling from which the British derived great profits.

Elisabeth Farnese used her powerful influence, with the assistance of Riqueda, to ensure the accession of her son to the Italian duchies and subordinated to this and the best interests of Spain, which required peace for the further development of her resources.

C. Philip V.

In spite of all his scruples Philip V still hoped to secure the French Crown, and his abdication of the throne of Spain on January 4th, 1723, may have been partly due, not only to ill health, but also to a desire to assist his chosen if Louis XV, whose health was bad, died.

II. The Congress of Cambrai, 1723.

A. Bourbon.

On the death of Orleans, December 2nd, 1723, the Duke of Bourbon became chief minister of France. "Monsieur le Due," the unworthy grandson of the Great Condé, was ruled by his mistress, Madame de Prie, a partisan of Walpole. He continued Dubois' policy of friendship with Great Britain and refused to make an alliance with Peter the Great, who manifested hostility to George I.

B. The Congress.

The Congress of Cambrai met, as arranged, in 1723, to settle difficulties between Philip V and Charles VI.

But conditions had changed ; the maritime powers were irritated by the establishment of the Oxford East India Company ; the French were less inclined to support the designs of Elisabeth Farnese on the Italian duchies : Brougham was compelled to prevent the new Duke of Orleans from succeeding to the French throne if Louis XV died. The abdication of Philip V (January, 1700-August 31st, 1700) complicated Spanish politics. "This issue," congress "¹ did nothing, and aroused the resentment of Spain and Austria by its failure.

III. The Treaty of Vienna, 1703.

The failure of the Congress of Cambrai irritated Elisabeth Farnese, who was anxious to secure the Italian duchies for her son ; Philip V was angry because the marriage contract between the Infanta and Louis XIV had been repudiated, and because France seemed to care more for Polish than Spanish interests. In June, 1700, George I had promised to restore Gibraltar to Spain, but the promise had not been kept. Charles VI was offended because Great Britain refused to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction and steadfastly opposed the Oxford East India Company. Charles was anxious to strengthen his hold on Italy and to make use of Italy to secure the supremacy of the Empire in Germany.

Spain and the Empire now entered into direct negotiations which were conducted with great skill by Bippens. Charles hoped by the help of Spain to carry out his Imperial schemes ; to escape from his dependence on Great Britain ; to establish his influence in Poland ; to restore the Bourbons ; to support Catholicism in Europe.

A. Bippens's Mission to Vienna.

(1) Bippens's proposals.

Bippens's main object was to secure the marriage of Maria Theresa to Don Carlos and of her sister to ¹Charles.

Don Philip. On the death of Charles VI, Don Carlos was to succeed to the Habsburg family lands, Don Philip to the Hapsburg territories in Italy (the Milanese, Naples and Sicily), with the addition of Tuscany, Parma and Piacenza. "Thus all the Habsburg possessions in Germany and Italy were to be ultimately divided between Elizabeth Farnese's two sons." Spain was to support the Pragmatic Sanction and the Oxford East India Company. The Empress was to help Spain to recover Gibraltar and Minorca. Both Catholic powers were to unite against the Turks, German Protestants and Great Britain.

(b) Objections to Rappard's proposal.

The Empress's chief ministers—Eagle, Staatsburg and Leopold—realizing that Austria was in a position of dangerous isolation, and strongly resenting the opposition of British and Dutch merchants to the Oxford East India Company, favoured an understanding with Spain, but objected to the proposed marriage.

.ii. The Spanish Infanta.

Philip V's daughter the Infanta, who had been betrothed to Louis XV in 1721, was being educated in France. She was only six years old and the marriage could not take place for some time. Bourbon was anxious for Louis XV to marry, as if he died without an heir the throne would pass to the young Duke of Orléans, to whom Bourbon was bitterly opposed. He sent the Infanta back to Spain in March, 1726. Philip V was furious at the insult; he sent back to France the widow¹ of his son, King Louis I, who had ruled during his own abdication, and Madame de Boufflers, who was betrothed to Don Cayet.

C. The marriage of Louis XV.

September, 1729. Louis married Marie Leszczyńska,

¹ Formerly Madame de Montpensier, page 12.

daughter of Stanislaus, who, with the help of Charles XII., had been King of Poland from 1704 till he was expelled in 1718 and was living in retirement at Weissensee. Bourbon hoped that the new Queen would support him, as he had arranged the marriage.

The marriage was a mistake. It alienated Catherine I. of Russia, who, alarmed at the isolation of Russia, desired an alliance with France and was anxious that her daughter Elisabeth should marry Louis XV. Poland was of no value to France, which was soon involved in the costly and unsuccessful War of the Polish Succession, undertaken to postpone Stanislaus to the throne. Russia now turned to Austria, and even an alliance between the two was a prove an important factor in Europe.

D. The Treaty of Vienna, April 30th-May 1st, 1733.

Philip now withdrew his ambassador from France and his representatives from the Congress of Cambrai, which came to an end.

By the Treaty of Vienna, Charles renounced all claims on Philip's dominions, provided the succession to the Italian duchies to Don Carlos and undertook to help Spain to recover Gibraltar. Philip undertook to support the Ostend Company, to protect Austrian commerce and to provide a large sum of money; but the Sicilian duchies remained Imperial, so the French marriage was not mentioned. Philip, in his indignation against France, had surrendered to Spain.

E. The Treaty of Hanover, September, 1733.

The union of the Hapsburg and Spanish Bourbons aroused fear that they might combine against France; the commercial advantages it secured to Charles alarmed the British and Dutch. Philip V demanded the cession of Gibraltar and prepared for war. By the Treaty of Hanover, September 2nd, 1733, Great Britain, France and Prussia made a defensive league, which was joined later by Sweden, Denmark and Holland, and agreed to

demand the abolition of the Ostend East India Company and to recognise Prussian claims on Jülich and Berg.

B. The Secret Treaty of Vienna, November, 1735.

Charles VI, alarmed by the Treaty of Hanover, now made a secret Treaty with Philip V, by which he agreed that Don Carlos and Don Philip should marry "one of his daughters," that he would help Spain to regain Gibraltar and Minorca. Philip promised to support Hapsburg rights in Poland, Jülich and Berg, to assist the Ostend Company and guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction. It was agreed and France was defeated, Spain was to receive Ordugne, Riomarion and Lower Navarre; Austria was to get Alenza, Franche-Comté, Lorraine and the Netherlands. The Secret Treaty was a great triumph for Elisabeth Farnese and Rippberg. The Pretender was to be made King of England.

The position of Charles was strengthened by—

- (1) A treaty between Russia and Austria in August, 1736, by which they agreed to defend each other from attack from the West and to wait in attacking the Turks.

The beginning of the close alliance between Austria and Russia.

- (2) The Treaty of Wurtemberg, October, 1736.

Prussia joined Austria and guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction provided Maria Theresa married a German prince. Charles promised to consider the Prussian claims on Jülich and Berg.

IV. The Treaty of Seville, 1739.

A. The Fall of Rippberg.

Rippberg on his return to Spain was made a duke and took the title of Universal Minister. But he found that Spain had neither the army, navy nor the money necessary for the way his policy had made inevitable. He tried, unsuccessfully, to reverse his policies by secre-

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negotiations with France and the Dutch. Charles VI showed no readiness to carry out the marriage arranged, sent no troops, but imperatively demanded a subsidy of a million dollars. Rappard's attempt to raise money by heavy taxes and by debasing the coinage had made him unpopular; the Queen, his strongest supporter, realising that his work at Vienna had really been ineffective, turned against him. He was deprived of office in May, 1736, took refuge in the British Embassy and revealed to the British ambassador the terms of the Secret Treaty of Vienna. He was imprisoned, escaped, went to Morocco, became a Moorish dervish and died in 1787.

B. War between Great Britain and Spain.

June, 1739. A British fleet sailed off the coast of Spain to intercept treasure ships from the West Indies.

March-August, 1739. Hostile blockade of Portofino and prevented the treasure ships, with £6,500,000 on board, from leaving port.

1739. Spain blockaded Gibraltar.

C. Preliminaries of Peace.

(1) Henry, Chief Minister.

June, 1739. Henry succeeded Bourbon as Chief Minister and was most anxious for peace. He was prevented by Chauvelin, who opposed Britain and Austria, from sending military help to the British against Spain; he negotiated with Elizabeth Farnese, but remained faithful to the British alliance.

(2) Death of Catherine I.

May, 1740. The death of Catherine I and the accession of the youthful Peter II deprived Charles VI of the help of Russia.

(3) Austria makes peace with Britain.

May 31st, 1740. Charles VI, who had sent no help to Spain against Britain, largely owing to the influence

of Eugene, signed the Preliminaries of Peace with Britain, France and Holland, agreed to suspend the Ostend Company for seven years and to refer all difficulties to a congress.

(4) Death of George I.

July 10th, 1727. Death of George I. Walpole remained in power and was determined to make peace.

(5) The Convention of the Pardo.

March, 1729. The Convention of the Pardo ended the Anglo-Spanish War.

(6) The Congress of Ryswick.

1729-1731. The Congress of Ryswick failed to secure peace.

(7) Birth of the Dauphin.

September, 1731. The birth of the Dauphin secured the succession of the French Bourbons and put an end to the dynastic jealousy between France and Spain.

D. The Treaty of Seville, 1731.

Elizabeth Farnese finding that the Emperor had no intention of supporting the Parma marriage, and rendered still more anxious to secure for Don Carlos the Italian dominions since the birth of the Dauphin had rendered his accession to the throne of France impossible, now negotiated with France and Britain. The difficulties in the colonies were not sufficiently serious to render peace with Britain impossible, and Flury and Walpole, who had had to face strong opposition from the war party in France and England, made the most of the opportunity.

The Treaty of Seville—signed between France, Britain and Spain on November 2d, 1731, and accepted soon afterwards by Holland, provided—

(1) That the commercial privileges in Spanish dominions

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which had been withdrawn by the recent treaties of Vienna should be restored.

- (2) That the privileges accorded by Spain to the Oxford Company should be withdrawn.
- (3) That Don Carlos should succeed to Parma and Piacenza and that Spain should send six thousand soldiers to occupy them when necessary.

Charles VI was isolated ; the Austria-Spanish agreement came to an end ; Fleury had secured the alliance of Spain as well as Britain and established more cordial relations between France and Spain.

The Second Treaty of Vienna, 1701.

Peace was maintained owing to the determined efforts of Fleury, Walpole and Puffe. But the Duke of Parma died in January, 1701, the Emperor raised the Dutchess and was revolted again (January).

Walpole saved the situation by guaranteeing the Pragmatic Sanction, which Fleury refused to do. The Second Treaty of Vienna was made in July, 1701, between Great Britain, Spain, Holland and the Emperor.

A. Decree.

- (1) Britain and Holland, although not Spain, guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.
- 2) The Emperor formally invested George II with Brunswick and Verden, suspended the Oxford East India Company, allowed Spanish troops to occupy the Italian duchies. Don Carlos, assisted by an English fleet, secured Parma and Piacenza ; his accession to Tuscany had been ensured by arrangement with the Grand Duke.

B. Critics.

Charles had expected his naval and commercial schemes to ensure, as he wrongly hoped, the succession.

of Maria Theresa to the Austrian dominions. Elizabeth Farnese had at last succeeded in her main object. France had stood aloof, and in consequence the growing friendship between France and Spain, which seemed dangerous to Europe, had cooled. Spain was on friendly terms with Britain and the Emperor. The peace of Europe seemed assured.

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THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION

I. Political Conditions in 1733.

General conditions seemed to indicate an early outbreak of war and the hopes for European peace secured by the Second Treaty of Vienna had not been fulfilled, although Walpole and Pinto did all they could to preserve peace, and Fleury, although he called the British "traitors" for their recent action, had the same object.

A. France.

A war party led by Chauvelin and Villars, annoyed by the action of Britain in making the Second Treaty of Vienna without the co-operation of France, wished to unite with Spain, and thus to check the commercial development of Britain, and to get the assistance of the German states and Sardinia against the Empire, the ally of Britain. France steadily refused to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction.

B. Spain.

Philip V advocated alliance with France, and Elisabeth Farnese, who had wished to remain friendly with Britain, turned against her on finding that this country would not support her in her schemes for further aggression in Italy which involved hostility to Austria.

C. Great Britain.

Great Britain had gained substantial commercial advantages by the Treaty of Seville and Tordesillas, but difficulties between her and Spain in the West Indies grew steadily worse. The British, whose trade was limited by the *Aduanas* to the despatch of one ship a year to the West Indies, established a great and growing contraband trade; the Spanish Customs officers tried to put it down with great severity; British men-of-war fired on the Spaniards who tried to stop smuggling.

Disputes arose between the two countries as to the boundaries of Georgia and the right of casting copper-ore. There was a strong demand in Britain for alliance with Austria, which had no colonies, rather than France and Spain, whose colonial interests clashed with those of Britain.

D. The Empire.

The friendly relations established in 1703 between Spain and the Empire had been broken; Charles VI was poor, the Turks constituted a standing danger to his Eastern frontier and, though he desired peace, war between France and the Empire seemed likely, while Elisabeth Farnese's designs seemed sure to cause war between Spain and Austria.

E. The Polish Succession.

Frederick Augustus, Elector of Saxony, ruled as King Augustus II in Poland from 1707-1734, when he was deposed in favour of Stanislaus I, and from

1764, when Stanislaus was deposed, until he died in February, 1786.

A. The re-election of Stanislaus I.

The Polish national party wished to restore their old countryman Stanislaus Leszczinski, brother-in-law of Louis XV.¹ and France advocated his selection.

September 1st, 1763, Stanislaus I was re-elected as King of Poland at Warsaw.

B. Frederick Augustus II.

October, 1763. Frederick Augustus II² was elected King in succession to his father by an Austria-Russian party. He was supported by Austria and Russia, who resented the re-establishment of French influence in Poland and hoped to seize Polish territory for themselves. He promised Charles VI to guarantee the Pragmatic Sanction, and ceded Glatzland to Russia, which sent troops to support him.

C. Flight of Stanislaus I.

Owing to lack of French support Stanislaus fled from Warsaw to Danzig, which was besieged in October, 1763. France sent only one ship and fifteen hundred men to help him.

June, 1764. Danzig was captured, Stanislaus escaped to France and King Augustus III kept his throne.

III. The Policy of France.

Charles VI had secured recognition in France, which strongly favoured the cause of Stanislaus, by his support of Augustus, although he had not taken such active steps as Russia. France, which wanted to secure Lorraine, induced the betrothal of Maria Theresa to French Duke of Lorraine, which would bind Lorraine more closely to the Empire.

¹ Page 18. ² King Augustus III.

THE WAR OF THE POLISH SUCCESSION 37

A. The Treaty of Turin, September 29th, 1738.

Charles Emmanuel III, the young King of Sardinia, had in September, 1738, ascended the throne on the abdication of his father, Victor Amadeus II. He was anxious to extend his territory in Italy and made with France the Treaty of Turin which aimed at expelling the Austrians from Italy and provided—

- (1) That Charles Emmanuel should obtain Milan and the "Milanese."
- (2) That Don Carlos should receive Naples and Sicily.
- (3) That France should receive Savoy.

Thus the sons of Elisabeth Farnese would secure important concessions in the south and centre of Italy, while the power of Sardinia, in spite of the cession of Savoy, would be increased in the north.

B. War declared.

October 23rd, 1738. France declared war on Austria.

C. France and Turkey.

Failing to secure the help of Prussia, which was anxious to secure Polish Prussia, or of Sweden, which was too weak to assist, Fleury tried to get help from Turkey, which, like Poland, was endangered by the growing power of Russia. Turkey, fearing that her intervention in Poland would give Austria an opportunity to attack her, refused to move until France made an alliance with her and declared war on Austria. Fleury, unwilling to make an alliance with the Infidel, acted in so dilatory a manner that he failed to secure the help of the Turks, who in 1738-1739 were engaged in fighting the Russians under Nadir Shah, who had been instigated to attack Turkey by Russia.

D. The First Family Compact. The Treaty of the Escorial.

November 7th, 1738. France and Spain swore "eternal and inviolable union"; Frederick not to

recognise the Pragmatic Sanction; to unfit their forces to prosecute the war in Italy, to recover Gibraltar for Spain and to check the commercial policy of Great Britain; to guarantee each other's territories.

E. Great Britain.

Differences had arisen between France and Britain. The French had refused completely to disannex Dunkirk because of its value as a port; they were jealous of the commercial privilege England had secured by the Actonato; the increased persecution of the French Protestants provoked indignation in England.

The French were now anxious to secure the valuable support of Britain and Holland, but Holland relined to Spain and Walpole declined to join in the war without Holland and continued his peace policy, in spite of the strong German sympathy of the King and Queen and of the demand for war against the Electors that arose when the Family Compact of 1731 became known in England. "Madame," said Walpole to the Queen, "there are fifty thousand men slain this year in Europe, and not one Englishman." British intervention on the side of Austria would have led to new plots on behalf of the Pretender and Walpole's policy strengthened the Hanoverian dynasty. But it is possible that such intervention might have benefited Britain and France by averting the War of the Austrian Succession.

IV. The War.

A. The Rhine.

The French army was commanded by Marshal Berwick¹; the Imperial army was led by Eugene, under whom served Maurice of Saxony.²

1743. The French capture Kehl.

¹ Son of James II and Anne of Denmark.

² Originally known as Maurice Fane. The son of King Frederick Augustus I and the Queen of Poland.

1734. The French overran Lorraine and took Philippsburg, where Berwick was killed.

B. Italy.

The Emperor had transferred most of his troops from Italy to the Polish frontier.

(i) The North.

1733. Charles Emmanuel took Milan and, with the co-operation of Villars' French army, overran the Milanese and invaded the Duchy of Mantua. But Charles Emmanuel wanted to get Mantua for himself and refused to co-operate with the Spaniards, who wished to secure it for Elisabeth Farnese. Villars resigned his command and died at Turin in June, 1734.

1734. The French defeated the Imperialists at Parma and Guastalla.

(ii) The South.

Imperial troops had been removed from the south to protect the Milanese.

1734. The Spaniards, under Montclar, routed the Austrians at Bitonto and easily overran Naples.

1735. The Spaniards invaded Sicily. The Sicilians, who hated the Austrians, welcomed them.

July, 1735. Don Carlos was crowned King of the Two Sicilies at Palermo.

V. The Third Treaty of Vienna, 1733-1735.

Fleury feared that Great Britain might intervene and that Charles VI might come to terms with Elisabeth Farnese and thus isolate France; knew that Charles Emmanuel was negotiating with the Emperor; was anxious to save France from further expense and loss of life. The appearance on the Rhine of a Russian force, in alliance with Austria, made Fleury more eager for peace.

October, 1733. France and the Empire signed the preliminaries of the Third Treaty of Vienna.

A. Terms.

- (1) France guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.
- (2) Don Carlos was to surrender Parma and Piacenza and to receive the Two Sicilies.
- (3) The Emperor was to receive Parma and Piacenza.
- (4) Charles Emmanuel got Navarre and Tortosa.
- (5) Stanislaus renounced his claim on the throne of Poland, was to hold during his life Lorraine and Bar, which on his death were to be annexed to France.
- (6) Francis of Lorraine was to marry Maria Theresa, and on the death of the Grand Duke of Tuscany was to receive that duchy in exchange for Lorraine.
(February 12th, 1738. Marriage of Francis of Lorraine and Maria Theresa.)

The separation of Lorraine from the Empire was a distinct gift to France.

B. The Peace Treaty signed.

November 18th, 1738. The treaty between France and Austria was signed and was accepted by Spain in April, 1739.

VI. The Importance of the War of the Polish Succession.

Prussia obtained Lorraine on the death of Stanislaus in 1736 and greatly strengthened her eastern border; the Emperor had regained some of his lost territory and secured the recognition by France of the Pragmatic Sanction, to which he attached the greatest importance; the somewhat unscrupulous diplomacy of Charles Emmanuel had strengthened his kingdom of Sardinia, although he did not gain as much territory as he expected; the Spanish Bourbons had retained Southern Italy and Sicily, which they retained until the success of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi led to the deposition of Francis II in 1860.

The war affected the future history of Europe. It

had shown the great importance of the alliance between Spain and Austria, which involved opposition to Turkey and thus made the Eastern Question a problem of European politics; it had shown the weakness of Poland and strengthened the tendency towards the partition of that country. Frederick William I of Prussia rejected his exclusion from the negotiations that preceded the peace and viewed with suspicion the designs of Austria on Silesia; thus the War of the Polish Succession became a distinct element in the growing rivalry between Prussia and Austria. The danger of the union of the Bourbon powers had been revealed, and the fear that that union might be made effective was greatly to influence British policy. Only had taken a distinct step towards national unity.

References:

- The Balance of Power* (Bennell), Rivingtons, chap. xv.
- A History of European Diplomacy* (Hill), Longmans, Vol. III., pp. 429-444.
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- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, chap. V.

FRANCE FROM 1740-1778

I. The Condition of the People.

A. The Nobles.

By the beginning of the seventeenth century many of the old feudal families had died out; the nobility consisted largely of men who had been ennobled for official service; out of about 40,000 noble families only 220 belonged to the old feudal nobility. They enjoyed exemption from taxation, and particularly from the taille and corvée; the highest offices in Church and State were reserved for them; the officers in the army were always of noble birth.

Under Louis XIV society as well as government had been centralized at Versailles. Every nobleman was expected to attend the Court at Versailles, where alone offices and advancement could be secured ; the King banished to their estates those who had offended him, and such banishment involved political and social ruin.

The nobles became a class of absentee landlords ; their estates were neglected and the consequent loss of revenue ruined the aristocracy, while distinguished production impoverished the country. The estates of the nobles were often bought by wealthy merchants, and many small holdings were purchased by the peasants.

The centralization of society led to a deterioration of conduct. " Honour took the place of morals"; under Louis XV the nobles were openly vicious¹ and the outward decorum which had marked the Court of Louis XIV disappeared.

B. The Clergy.

The Church was a rich, self-governed corporation, possessing an income of about 260,000,000 livres and owning one-fifth of the land of France; the clericalized exception from taxation because their property was dedicated to God, although they sometimes made "free gifts" to the King. Tithes brought in large revenues.

The upper clergy were often ignorant and immoral. They, like the nobles, frequented the Court and were liable more than "great lords with a hundred thousand livres income." The poor parish priests, who did most of the work, were of humble origin.

C. The Middle Class.

The Middle and Lower Classes made up the Third Estate. The former enjoyed a large measure of prosperity ; they included the financiers, some of whom made great fortunes, and the merchants, who profited by the increase in trade which quadrupled between 1720 and 1789.

¹ See Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, page 160.

D. The Lower Classes.

(1) In the country.

a. Feudal survivals.

The duty of government, formerly inflicted in the feudal system, had been transferred from the feudal lords to the Crown. But the former still retained many of their old feudal rights. The continued assertion of feudal rights impeded the cultivation of the soil, prevented the middle class from settling in the country, greatly irritated the peasants.

Although serfdom had been abolished, except in Alsace and Lorraine, the peasants in many places still had to render old feudal services : to use the lord's mill, wine-press or oven ; to pay him bridge and market-tolls and a share of their produce. Strict laws preserved game which, and especially deer and wild boar, damaged the crops ; the innumerable pigeons in the lords' dovecotes proved almost equally destructive.

b. Taxation.

The peasant, unlike the privileged classes, was except from no taxation, and the taille, a property tax, the gabelle, a tax on salt, were heavy burdens ; the corvée,¹ which included compulsory service for road-making, bridges and public works, and which was instituted by Henry IV in 1573, injured agriculture by hindering the peasants from cultivating their ground. Of the produce of the peasants' land the King took one-third, the Church one-third and the peasants kept only one-third for themselves.

¹ *Légiōne corvēe*, the "work done at exorbitant" of the Intendant.

(1) In the towns.

Artisans in towns were hampered by the guilds which had been encouraged by Colbert. The guilds were restricted to masters; they did not admit journeymen or apprentices; their regulations hampered trade, e.g. the tailor who made clothes could not mend them, the cobbler could not make new boots, the man who baked cakes could not bake bread. But guilds were limited to the older domestic industries; the newer manufactures such as silk, porcelain, and glass were free from such restrictions, which were often evaded.

(2) General.

The general condition of the lower classes was bad—D'Argenson said in 1760 "more Frenchmen have died of misery in these two years than were killed in all the wars of Louis XIV." In 1789 peasants were living on grass and begged bread at Brasen.¹ In 1790 they went falling to Paris and the Parisians mobbed the King's carriage, demanding bread; many in despair took to brigandage.

But the large towns prospered, the mercantile marine grew; the peasants, by about 1750, had acquired a quarter of the land and were better off than those of most European countries. They were work at the absolute disposal of their lords. In spite of war, the population of France increased from about nineteen million in 1715 to about twenty-five million in 1789.

The distress was real, though less than elsewhere. The real danger lay in the fact that in France despotism led to economic depression, to which the work of the Philosophes was soon to give effective expression.

II. The Government.

A. The King.

(1) Absolutism.

Although Louis XIV had incurred some amount of unpopularity at the end of his reign, the despotism which he had established continued. Louis XV declared in 1708, "We hold our Crown from God alone. The right of making laws belongs to ourselves alone; we neither delegate it nor share it." The lettre de cachet, which legalised arbitrary imprisonment without trial by the authority of the King, was one of the best illustrations of his absolute power.

(2) The Royal Council.

The Royal Council, which carried out the whole administration of the country, consisted of about forty members, including the chief ministers of State. The ministers, of whom the Contrôleur-General of the Finances was the chief, decided specially important business in small committees over which the King presided. The ministers were nobles either by birth or office; the ordinary members generally belonged to the upper middle class. The volume of work thrown upon the Council was so great that the business of the country was always in arrear.

B. The Parliament of Paris.

Of the thirty Parlements¹ that of Paris, which originated in the Cour des Bages of the early Capetians, was the chief. It was primarily a judicial body, but had to register royal lettres and claimed the right of censure and even refusing to register edicts of which it disapproved. Its jurisdiction was limited by the right of the Royal Council to quash its decrees and by the power of the King to hold a Si de justice, or special meeting, at which he compelled it to register his decrees.

¹ Paris, Toulouse, Grenoble, Bordeaux, Dijon, Rouen, Aix, Rennes, Poitiers, Dax, Nancy and Besançon.

During the eighteenth century the Parliament of Paris, which had been ignored by Louis XIV, became more important. It had exercised political power by doing during Orleans Regency in 1718,² but unsuccessfully opposed the Mazarin Scheme in 1718; it took an active part in religious controversies and came into sharp conflict with the Crown.

(1) Religion.

The Parliament showed sympathy towards the Jansenists, who had flocked back to Paris in 1718, and hostility towards the Jésuits.

a. The Jansenists.

1733. Owing to the pressure of Dubois the Parliament accepted at Pontcarré the Bull *Unigenitus*.³

1733. Jansenism had spread particularly in Paris and among the wealthy merchant class; it was strong in the Parliament, which strongly opposed the ultramontane tendency of the Government.

1749. The Archbishop of Paris, exasperated by the attempt of Machault to tax the Church, ordered his clergy to refuse absolution to the dying unless they accepted the Bull *Unigenitus*. The Parliament arrested the curé of St. Etienne du Mont for refusing absolution to a suspected Jansenist, and in 1753 tried to seize the Archbishop's property and to bring him to trial. The King called the Parliament and appointed a Grand Chamber in its place, but the lawyers refused to practise before it.

1764. Louis XV recalled the Parliament to Paris.

b. The Jésuits.

The growth of scepticism, the attacks of the Philosophes and the banish of Madame de

² Page 2. ³ *Note on European History*, Vol. II, page 902.

Pompadour, who resented their criticism of her conduct, weakened the Jesuits, who had impaired their spiritual efficiency by engaging in commerce. They appealed to the Parlement of Paris against a judgment for a debt of 2,400,000 francs incurred by their administrator in Martinique. The Parlement, supported by Chastellux and Madame de Pompadour, affirmed the judgment and examined the constitutions of the Order. The Parlements of Paris and the Provinces condemned the Order, which was suppressed by Louis XV in November, 1764.

(ii) The Crown.

a. Finance.

August 26th, 1718. Owing to the opposition Parliament refused to Law's schemes and its attempt to interfere in the political and financial administration, Orleans held a *l'Etat de justice* which assailed its recent decrees and deprived it of the right of remonstrance in political matters.

1766. Owing to its refusal to support measures to relieve the financial crisis, Dubois banished the Parliament to Poitaine.

1766. Parliament refused to register edicts for new taxes to meet the cost of the war with England, continued its opposition to the Bull and tried by union with other Parlements to check the Great Council. In a *l'Etat de justice* on December 18th, 1766, the King ordered that all edicts should be registered and suppressed two chambers. In consequence one hundred and eighty members resigned.

January 8th, 1767. Dubois stabbed Louis XV owing to his treatment of Parliament. The Parliament was soon re-admitted.

B. Judiciary.

1770. The Parliament, contrary to the King's orders, but with the connivance of Choiseul, declared the Duke of Aiguillon suspended from his privileges owing to abuse of his power in Brittany; when their decrees were assailed by a *fit de justice* they stopped the administration of justice. Choiseul was "exiled to his estates"; the "troupeau," Aiguillon, Marignac and Torrey, in April, 1771, abolished the Parliament and established in its place the "Parlement Réunis." Marignac boasted that he "had got the crown out of the registrar's office."

(2) General.

The Parliament had failed in its struggle with the Crown. But their frank criticism of the acts of King and ministers wakened the pride of the Crown, prepared the way for the Protestant by bringing important questions before the notice of the people and "asserted the existence of an unwritten constitution which limited the King's power and of which they were the guardians."

C. Provincial Government.

(1) Division.

The Kingdom of France had been gradually formed by the incorporation in the Royal Domain of great feudal states and by foreign conquest. The Provinces differed in size, language, institutions, laws and customs; the country was not homogeneous; the monarchy was the only bond of union. The old Provincial Estates survived only in the *Prévôté* of such as Brittany, Languedoc and other provinces which had possessed administrative assemblies before their union with the Royal Domain; and there were twelve Provincial Parlements. In the *Prévôté* of Nantes, so called because

at one time magistrates had been elected to assess the taxes, the royal Intendants exercised all power and the Government was altogether centralized. The King "demanded" a tax from the *Pays d'Etat* and "imposed" it on the *Pays d'élection*.

Serious difficulties arose owing to the continuance of local courts, laws and various duties.

a. Local courts.

The administration of justice was complicated by the survival of feudal jurisdiction. At the end of the eighteenth century one hundred and twenty-five feudal courts existed in the Province of Maine and twenty-two in the city of Le Mans.

b. Laws.

The old Roman written law prevailed in the South; the rest of the country was subject to customary law. But these were modified by local law, and it is calculated that there were "in France on-the-average of the Exploitation, at least three hundred and sixty distinct bodies of law, in force sometimes throughout a whole Province, sometimes in a much smaller area."¹

The penal code was brutal; breaches of the feudal regulations were punished with great severity; the persecuting laws against the Protestants were cruelly enforced.

c. Taxation and Customs.

The incidence of taxation varied greatly. In the region of the Great Salt Tax around Paris the gabelle was about thirty times as heavy as in Brittany, ten times as heavy as in Poitou, twice as heavy as in Dauphiné. Customs were imposed in such ports, and workmen who crossed the Rhône to their work had to

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, page 68.

pay customs on the food they took with them. In these circumstances smuggling, particularly in salt, was very prevalent and trade was impeded. The carriage of goods from Provence to Normandy, owing to delays caused by customs and tolls, took three and a half months instead of three weeks.

(2) The Intendants.

Provincial Governors, often nobles, had little real authority; everywhere the Intendants, royal officers established by Richelieu, were supreme, although their authority was limited by the Estates of the *Pays d'Etat*. Law said that "the Kingdom of France is governed by thirty Intendants." They conducted all local administration; fixed the amount of taxes due from each district; controlled the local police, public works and the roads; relieved the poor; regulated commerce and exercised summary jurisdiction.

The commercial courts in the country districts, the *consulats*, corporations, which had become more oligarchical, required the sanction of the Intendant for their proceedings.

The Intendants could not cope with the work their posts involved, and local business, like national, was often in arrears. The administration of France was in a state of chaos.

III. Finance.

A. General.

The financial system was hopeless. National accounts were the King's private accounts, and he drew blank orders, *esquisses de comptes*, on the Treasury at pleasure; one hundred and seventeen million francs were so drawn in 1789, mainly at the instigation of Madame de Pompadour. No budget was prepared; much of the expenditure escaped audit; no public statement of accounts was made until the time of Napoleon's Consulate.

Revolts in 1781. Owing to the privileges of the nobles and clergy the main burden of taxation was borne by the lower classes, and differences in taxation caused great hardship and rendered intolerable a burden which could have been easily borne if equitably distributed. Many taxes were farmed and taxpayers were usually oppressed by the farmers, who were anxious to make as large a profit as possible.

I. Deficit.

There was an aggravating, and the deficit between 1780 and 1771 the Government had repudiated part of all of its obligations. In 1788 the deficit for the year was 160,000,000 livres, the total debt 4,400,000,000, on which the interest amounted to 336,000,000 livres per annum.

2. Some particular taxes.

(1) The Taille.

The taille was a tax on property; it was reassessed every year, and an improvement in property meant an increase in taxation. Many officials and other privileged members of the middle class obtained exemption, as well as nobles and clergy, and peasants often neglected their land to escape payment. The taille was thus a distinct check on agriculture.

(2) The Gabelle.

Salt was a strict government monopoly. In the beginning of the Grande Gabelle it was practically a poll tax, as everybody above ~~age, years of age~~^{the age of 14} was required to purchase ~~any~~^{one} pound a year. This was to be used only for ~~cooking~~^{salting}, it could not be used for salting ~~meat~~^{meat} or fish, and the use of ~~any~~^{the} water for ~~cooking~~^{salting} by ~~middlemen~~^{middlemen} was forbidden.¹

(3) Other taxes.

A poll tax, repartition, graduated according to rank, was paid by the head of each household; the engineer

¹ See also above, page 48.

was a tithe on property ; the *censi* was a local tax, and taxes were paid for customs, levies, and excise, silks, and on tobacco, saltpetre and other goods. Out of every hundred francs the peasants paid from eighty-one to eighty-two for direct taxation, feudal dues and tithes, and the *gabels* and *aidés* had to be paid out of the balance.

D. *Machado*.

An honest attempt of Machado in 1789 to improve the financial position failed, and the condition of the country grew gradually worse.

IV. The Philosophers.

During the eighteenth century France lost her predominance in arms and diplomacy, but became the leader of European thought. The Philosophers gave direction and expression to the discontent of the times, and Voltaire's *Letters on the English*, 1734, marks the beginning of their attack on existing institutions. England supplied the inspiration of the movement; Voltaire was profoundly influenced by Locke; the English constitution formed the basis of the new order Montesquieu hoped to establish in France; Richardson's novels influenced Rousseau.

The study of science in the seventeenth century had led to the substitution of observation for hypothesis, the recognition of the importance of experience and the influence of ideas to bodily sensations. The philosophical movement of the eighteenth century was largely the development of these tendencies in the light of reason.

The Philosophers supported the cause of freedom against the long-established authority of Church, State and Society, and their destructive criticism had been anticipated in the seventeenth century by Bayle, Tschet and Saint-Evremond.

But the movement was also constructive. Rousseau's theories of Social Contract and Natural Rights formed

the basis of future legislation, and his theories about education were of great practical value; Voltaire advocated the reform of the criminal laws and the adoption of a uniform system of law. *Bienfaisance*,² or the promotion of the good of humanity, was the object of the Philanthropes.

A. Voltaire, 1694-1778.

(1) Life.

François Marie Arouet, the son of a notary, changed his name to Voltaire. He was educated by the Jesuits, was imprisoned in the Bastille; during his residence in England, from 1726-1729, he became a great admirer of English laws and literature.

(2) Works.

In his *Chez Paix*, 1718, he attacked the priests; in the *Hénriade*, 1730, exalted Henry IV and adversely criticized Louis XIV; his *Letters on the English*, 1734, were burned by the hangman owing to their attacks on kings and governments.

(3) Importance.

Voltaire lacked originality, but his command of clear, natural language and his power of lucid reasoning made his attack on the old régime very powerful; he first gave effective expression to prevailing discontent. His work was mainly, though not entirely, destructive.

¹ He violently attacked the Church. "The most absurd of errors, the most humiliating for human nature, is that of priests; and of all absurd errors, the most criminal is that of priests of the Christian religion." He advocated freedom of belief, thought and utterance, and the impartial and humane administration of justice.

His attitude towards politics was conservative...He had no sympathy with democratic opinions—and Voltaire was invited by the Abbe Saint-Pierre (1694-1772).

approved of the suppression of the Parliament in 1771; he differed from Rousseau in regarding paternalism more as a mere savage; he disapproved monarchy, but asserted that it was the duty of the monarch, whom he regarded as a benevolent despot, to reform the evils of the state and promote the happiness of the masses.

B. Montesquieu, 1689-1755.

Charles de Secondat, Baron de Montesquieu, had been brought up as a lawyer. His *Posthumous Letters*, published in 1722, were a protest against the absolute monarchy which Louis XIV had established. His *Spirit of the Laws*, which appeared in 1748, combined a violent attack on the Church with theories as to the reorganization of the monarchy. He held that governments should respect the spiritual needs of the people, and thought that the best interests of France would be ensured by a revival of the old magnatey of Henry IV, limited by administrative institutions. This desire to establish a limited monarchy is an important difference between Montesquieu and both Voltaire and the Rousseau, who all favoured benevolent despotism, and Rousseau, the champion of the sovereign people. He wished to lighten direct taxation, thought that the State should give all men an opportunity of working, and declared that the duty of the State was to provide for all citizens "an assured subsistence, daily bread, decent clothes, and a kind of life not destructive of health."

C. The Encyclopédie.

The first volume of the *Encyclopédie* appeared in 1751; the first two were suppressed in 1752 for attacking the clergy, but publication was continued until the issue of the seventeenth volume in 1765.

The editor was Denis Diderot, "a great philosopher and strong manœuvrer," who was assisted by D'Alembert the mathematician. The contributors included Turgot,

Rousseau, Buffon the naturalist, Marmontel, who dealt with literature, Quesnay, who wrote on agriculture, and nearly every "philosopher" of the day.

The Encyclopédie represents "the collision between the old principles of Louis XIV . . . and the new nationalistic principles of spiritual emancipation."¹⁴ It judged all institutions and beliefs by the light of reason; it aimed at the extirpation of mankind, and the removal—all religious and "political" groups, advocated a dissemination of education free from Church control. The evils of the time, e.g. the gabegie, the régime, the Milits, were fully exposed—the irresistible forces that were making against the maintenance of the royal authority¹⁵ were clearly set forth; and "every page of the Encyclopédie was indeed a pledge of education."¹⁶ The Encyclopédistes "first grasped the great principle of modern society, the belief that is owed to productive industry. They were vehement for the glories of peace and passionate against the baneful glories of war."¹⁷ They did not attack monarchy, but emphasised the duty of Government to improve the condition of the people.

D. The Physiocrats or Economists.

The Physiocrats were founded in 1757 by Madame de Pompadour's physician Quesnay, who in 1758 published his *Traité d'Économie Politique*. Their aim was to improve the material conditions of France. They thought that land was the sole source of wealth and wished to help agriculture by replacing the existing taxes by a single tax. They held that there were "natural laws" ordained by God and that the observance of these would lead to material prosperity and happiness. They advocated free trade, free agriculture and free industry. They objected to undue interference by the State, and Quesnay's friend Gournay was the first to formulate the principle of *bien-faire et bien-passer*.

¹⁴ Lord Judd, *Below*, Vol. I, page 184. ¹⁵ Lord Mackay. ¹⁶ Ibid. ¹⁷ Ibid.

E. Jean Jacques Rousseau, 1712-1778.

(1) Life.

Rousseau was born at Geneva and was descended from Huguenots who had been driven from France by persecution. He was at different times a domestic servant, a clerk to a land surveyor and secretary to the French ambassador at Venice. He travelled widely, and from January, 1749, to May, 1753, lived in England, where George III gave him a pension. Voltaire's *Letters on the English* proved his first inspiration, and he was strongly influenced by the teaching of Locke. He wrote an article on music for the *Encyclopédie*. His life was immoral; he sent his illegitimate children to a foundling hospital.

(2) Difference between Rousseau and other Philosophers.

Rousseau differed on important points from Voltaire and Diderot. Rousseau appealed to the heart rather than the reason. By appealing to sentiment he passed the religious people-of-God to notice, and his *Second Discourse* preached the gospel of sympathy. He looked for improvement by substituting for the ~~majority~~ of mankind the university of ~~one~~ good people. He held that man in a state of nature was not a savage; while his contemporaries, he showed little appreciation of the progress man had made and hoped to reduce the evils of the time by reference to the past. He had "conceived a deadly hatred against the whole social system."

The Social Contract, 1762.

Rousseau's theories are stated in his *Discourse on the Origin of Inequality*, 1755, and his better known *Social Contract*.

"Man," he says in the opening words of the latter "is born free, and everywhere he is in chains." In order to preserve society "each of us places in common his person and his whole power under the supreme

direction of the general will;" and the body thus constituted by the "royal contract" is the sovereign. Each citizen is both a member of the sovereign body and, as an *individual*, the servant of the sovereign. The sovereignty is *infallible* and *indivisible*, just laws are the expression of the general will of the sovereign upon any object of common interest. The Government is the minister of the sovereign. The sovereign must establish a purely civil probation of faith, but those who denied the existence of God or a future life were to be punished.

Rousseau's teaching, which lacks historical support, was accepted by the Jacobins, who found in it justification for the doctrine of *dictatorship*, and it proved one of the chief of the immediate causes of the Revolution.

V. LOUIS XV, 1715-1774.

A. Character and unpopularity.

Louis XV was one of the most worthless of the kings of France. He was influenced by a succession of ministers; he was intelligent but indolent; he tried only to amuse himself and "could not find a day for serious business." Up to 1748 he had enjoyed some measure of undeserved popularity, and his recovery from illness in that year led to such rejoicings that he was nicknamed Louis le Bien-aimé. But in his later years he was completely out of sympathy with his people and avoided all intercourse with them. People began to blame the King for all the evils of the time; he incurred the odium of the national bankruptcy declared by Turgot in 1759; the people of Paris accused him of partnership in the *Fête de Fumée*, a career in which plumed everybody. The nobles resented the sway of Madame de Pompadour, the wife of a civil servant, and were furious at the favour shown by Louis XV to Madame du Barry, a vulgar courtesan. The Parliament of Paris gained the strong support of the people in its struggle with the King.

B. Decline of France.

(1) Territory.

Under Louis XV France gained Lorraine, on the death of Stanislaus Leszinski in 1766, and Caochon, bought in 1768 from George, which had failed to suppress Paul's rising. But much of the French colonial empire in India and North America was gained by Britain, which exerted control of the sea and did great damage to French commerce.

(2) Diplomacy.

a. Louis XV as a diplomatist.

On the death of Fleury in 1743 Louis resolved to be his own foreign minister, but was as timid "that after having partly sought out the right course he almost always decided, although with regret, for the wrong one when it was proposed by his ministers or his advisers."

In November, 1744, D'Argenson became Minister of Foreign Affairs. In order to further his own wishes Louis XV now organised a private diplomatic service of his own, and as his secret orders overrode or countermanded those of the official ministry French diplomacy was greatly weakened.

In 1748 Louis gave secret support to the attempt of the Prince de Conti to secure the Polish throne, although, at D'Argenson's request, he signed contrary instructions to the French minister in Poland. He carried on secret negotiations with Sweden and Turkey.

b. Madame de Pompadour.

From 1745, when she gained the King's favour, until her death in 1759, Madame de

Pompadour, the daughter of an army contractor, ruled France. Her great ability enabled her to maintain her position, in spite of the hostility of the nobles owing to her obscure birth. "The King now became almost a puppet in the State";¹ "foreign envoys paid their court to her, and the French ministers looked to her for advancement."² Madame de Pompadour supported the dismissal of D'Argenson in 1747 and ensured the appointment of Maurepas as Controller-General in 1748 and of Choiseul as Foreign Minister in 1758; she tried to keep France out of war in 1756 because she feared that war "would interrupt the pleasure and emotion of the King, upon which are based his health and existence at court";³ the reported war with Prussia later largely owing to the unscrupulous remarks Frederick the Great had made about her; she joined with the Parlement in 1761 to attack the Jesuits because they had condemned her conduct. The Austrian alliance of 1761 was due to Madame de Pompadour and Kaunitz. Her foreign policy dominated France and led "to the loss of her colonies, the disorder of her finances and an entire change in public feeling".⁴

C. The importance of Louis XV.

The importance of Louis XV lies in the fact that owing to his indecision, insufficiency and appalling immorality the prestige of the Crown was diminished. The monarch was still supreme, but his policy and conduct were open to severe criticism, and the Philosophers had taught the people of France to criticize. In the next reign criticism was to cause "the deluge" which Louis prophesied would follow him.

¹ Kishkin. ² Knypheusen quoted by Dr. Hill.
³ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, page 521.

THE PRAGMATIC SANCTION

LEOPOLD I

1640-1705



I. The Succession to the Hapsburg Dominions.

The Hapsburg dominions included Austria, Bohemia with Moravia and Silesia, Hungary, the Netherlands and the Austrian Netherlands. If they were to remain united it was essential that the dynasty should be maintained, for overseas, subject to the House of Hapsburg was practically the only bond of union. Administrative reforms were urgently necessary if the union was to be strengthened.

A. The Pragmatic Sanction.

In April, 1713, Charles VI had declared his own daughters heir to the Hapsburg dominions in preference to those of his elder brother Joseph and had insisted on the indivisibility of these dominions. This arrangement is known as the Pragmatic Sanction.

1719, Charles' niece Maria Josepha formally renounced her claims to the Hapsburg dominions at her marriage to the Electoral Prince of Saxony (Augustus II), and in 1722 her sister Maria Anna made a similar renunciation at her marriage to Charles of Bavaria.

In 1740 Charles settled all his dominions on Maria Theresa.

By 1751 all the dominions, including the formerly added Wallachia and Austrian Netherlands, had accepted the Pragmatic Sanction.

B. Possible rivals.

On the death of Charles VI several rivals of Maria Theresa advanced their claims.

(1) Bavaria.

Charles of Bavaria repudiated his wife's renunciation and claimed the Hapsburg dominions himself on the ground that his ancestress Anne, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I, had made her descendants heirs on the failure of the male line of the Hapsburgs. An examination of the will showed that it provided for the extinction of "lawful" and not purely of "male" descendants.

(2) Saxony.

Friedrich Augustus of Saxony had accepted the Pragmatic Sanction in 1743 in return for the support of the Empress Charles VI in his candidature for the Polish throne. He now reasserted the hereditary rights of his wife and made a special claim to Bohemia.

(3) Spain.

Philip V of Spain asserted that, in accordance with old agreements, the Spanish Hapsburgs were to inherit while the Austrian branch died out and that he was the heir to the Spanish Hapsburgs and was therefore entitled to succeed on the failure of the Austrian male line.

Philip's claim was absurd; that of Saxony was plausibly based on a "breach of treaty obligations";¹ Bavaria was the most dangerous of Maria Theresa's rivals.

¹ By the Treaties of Olomouc 1713 and Rastatt 1714. See Note on European History, Part II, pages 222-4.

II. The Guarantees of the Pragmatic Sanction.

Austria was in a bad state. She lacked unity; her administrative system was inefficient, her finances embarrassed and her social organisation out of date; her difficulties had been increased by the cost of the War of the Polish Succession, 1703-1734,¹ and the war against Turkey which ended with the unsatisfactory Treaty of Belgrade in 1739.² Instead of improving the conditions of Austria, Charles VI devoted all his energies to assuring the accession of Maria Theresa; he neglected Eggen's advice that a strong army and a full treasury were the best means of assuring that accession and tried to pursue his object by agreement with the Powers.

Charles also wished to secure the election as Emperor of Francis of Tuscany,³ who had married Maria Theresa on Whitsunday 1736, 1736. Hoping that a son might be born to him, he had neglected to safeguard Francis' position by securing his election as King of the Romans.⁴

The Pragmatic Sanction, which had been accepted by the Austrian Dieticians by 1734, was accepted by Russia in 1739; by Holland and Great Britain in 1741; by Denmark and most of the members of the German Diet, but not by Saxony, Bavaria and the Palatinate, in 1752; by Savoy in 1753.

A. France.

France, the old enemy of the Habsburgs, was reluctant to accept the Pragmatic Sanction, and in 1732 Fleury declined to accept the Treaty of Vienna, which guaranteed the Sanction, on the ground that its acceptance would be as bad for France as the loss of three battles. France guaranteed the Sanction by the Peace of Vienna, 1738, on condition of the cession of Lorraine to Stanislaus

¹ Pages 44-45.

² He had been compelled to exchange Silesia for Tiessy by the Peace of Vienna, 1738. Page 45.

³ The King of the Romans was the next successor to the Empire.

of Poland and of the Two Sicilies and Tuscany to Don Carlos.¹

But in 1714 France had promised to support the Elector of Bavaria's candidate for the Empire at the next vacancy; in 1727 and in 1733 Henry repeated the promise and undertook also to support the Elector's claims to the Hapsburg inheritance; in 1738 he tried to reconcile his guarantee of the Sanction with his promises to Bavaria by distinguishing between a claim and a lawful possession.

B. Prussia.

Frederick William I had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction in 1733 in return for vague promises as to Münster, Berg and Ravensberg from Charles VI, and had used his influence on the Emperor's behalf in the Diet of 1733. Those promises had been evaded, and in 1739 France had guaranteed to Prussia the possession of Berg and Jülich.

Frederick II asserted that Silesia "belonged by right of succession to the electors of Brandenburg." This claim was ultimately based on an agreement made in 1697 between Joseph II of Brandenburg and the Duke of Lüneburg; it had been formally renewed by the Elector Frederick III in 1694, but had not been advanced by Frederick William I.

C. Great Britain and Holland.

Great Britain and Holland had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction in 1733 as condition that the Emperor gave up the Oxford East India Company.²

D. Spain, Sicilia and Naples.

Spain had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction in 1733, Charles Emmanuel III of Savoy in 1733, although the latter, following his family's policy of "taking the Lombard articles leaf from leaf," was anxious to

¹ Page 46.

² Page 24.

across the Alps, and Elisabeth Farnese desired to form out of the other Austrian possessions in Italy a principality for her son Don Philip.

Thus by 1740 Charles VI had secured the guarantee he desired from all the Powers of Europe except Bavaria and the Palatinate. But in order to promote his daughter's interests he had ceded parts of the Empire, ruined the Austrian trade in the Netherlands and made little effort to effect the internal reforms which Austria badly needed.

III. The Death of Charles VI, 1740.

Frederick William I of Prussia died on May 30th, 1740, and Charles VI on October 20th. The former was succeeded by his son Frederick II (the Great), the latter by his daughter Maria Theresa, who was proclaimed Archduchess of Austria, Queen of Hungary and Queen of Bohemia.

The accession of a woman to the Austrian dominions and the internal problems of Austria, which were sufficiently serious to engage the ruler's full attention, led to a European scramble for her domains. Her chief ministers, Kaunitz, the Chancellor, and Starhemberg, the Financial Minister, were too old to cope with the crisis that arose; but Batthyane, the Minister of Foreign Affairs, was younger and devoted to his mistress.

Great Britain, Holland, Pope Benedict XIV, Venice and Savoy at once acknowledged Maria Theresa. The Elector of Bavaria, her most serious rival, was not strong enough to maintain his claim alone; the war between Spain and England¹ hampered any designs Elisabeth Farnese had on Italy, and Sardinia was not likely to attack the Marches alone. The death of the Empress Anna of Russia on October 17th, 1740, deprived Maria Theresa of a friendly ally; the accession of the youthful Ivan VI made

¹ Page 298.

Russia intervention militarily, and although Stanislaw, the powerful Premier-Minister, was well disposed towards Frederick II, the danger of an attack from Sweden prevented him from actively supporting Prussia.

There was more danger from Prussia, which was tendencying to closer alliance with Spain, and to which a *partie belle-alle* resented Fleury's pacific policy and saw in the alliance between Bavaria and France good ground for the revival of the traditional policy of active hostility against the Huguenots, although it did not for the moment favor the conclusion of an alliance with France which Frederick II offered. Fleury supported the Imperial candidature of Charles of Bavaria, which was not contrary to the Pragmatic Sanction, but decided to see how events progressed before recognizing Maria Theresa.

Frederick II caused the outbreak of war.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. viii, Section I.
History of France (Eliot), Vol. III, pp. 404-408.

THE FIRST SILESIAN WAR, DECEMBER 14th, 1740—JULY 28th, 1743.

I. Frederick invaded Silesia.

A. The invasion.

Frederick had resolved to offer Maria Theresa to give up Berg and Parcstein, to support her accession and the candidature of her husband Francis of Tuscany for the Empire if she would give him Silesia. He justifiably claimed Silesia as belonging to Brandenburg, but his action was based solely "on pure political calculation." He was anxious to extend his dominions and protect Brandenburg from attack from the South by securing a province which commanded the Valley of

the Oder and which he called "our safeguard and anti-work." Hearing of the death of the Emperor Anne, which relieved him of the danger of a Russian attack on his eastern border, he on December 16th, 1740, without any notice, invaded Silesia.

B. Criticism.

Frederick's action was unjustifiable, and Österreich declared that the invasion of Silesia was "an ugly business." Prussia and Austria had been allies for years; Prussia had guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction; the Prussian claims on Silesia were indefensible; neither the treachery of Charles VI in relation to Berg and Zweibrücken nor the possibility that Saxony might have seized Silesia excuses the invasion.

Frederick now offered to Maria Theresa the terms given above and may have hoped to return to the policy of Walpole III and to form a union of Great Britain, Holland, Prussia, Russia and Austria to limit the power of the Bourbons. Maria Theresa, who never forgave Frederick for the invasion, refused to negotiate until he completely evacuated Silesia. She thought, wrongly, that France, which had begun to pay subsidies to Charles of Bavaria in November, 1740, would support her and refused Walpole's advice to accept Frederick's terms.

C. Mollwitz, 1741.

Frederick rapidly conquered most of Silesia, including Breslau; but Britain seemed likely to join Austria against him, and the fall of his partisan Munich in March, 1741, increased the danger of a Russian attack. But France showed friendship and Belle-Isle was sent to negotiate an alliance.

(1) The battle.

April 10th, 1741. At Mollwitz the Prussian infantry won a great victory over the Austrians under Neipperg.

¹ Page 176.

in spite of the failure of the cavalry under Frederick. The battle was one of the first instances of infantry defeating cavalry; it showed the value of the musket and bayonet as against the lance and sword, and established the reputation of the Prussian infantry.

(2) Results.

a. French diplomacy.

The victory confirmed Frederick in the possession of Lower Silesia and led to important political developments. France now definitely turned against Austria, made on May 12th, 1741, the Treaty of Nymphenburg with Charles of Bavaria, and undertook to support the Elector's claim to the Empire and Hagenberg territories. In the same month France and Spain made an agreement to break up the Austria dominions.

June 5th, 1741. France and Prussia made a treaty. France recognized Frederick's possession of Silesia and promised to stir up Sweden against Russia, thus diminishing the danger of a Russian attack on Prussia; Frederick gave up his claim to Berg and Jülich in favour of the Elector Palatine and promised to support Charles of Bavaria's candidature for the Empire. The Treaty of Berlin.

July, 1741. Augustus of Saxony made an alliance with France on condition of receiving Moravia.

b. British diplomacy.

George II was anxious to ensure the safety of Hanover and, as Elector of Hanover, did not object to the election of Charles of Bavaria as Emperor. Britain was the traditional ally of Austria; her rivalry with France for the

colonies had begun, and her commercial interests seemed to require an alliance with Austria against France and Spain; hatred of the Habsburgs was the main motive of the English people. There was a strong anti-Catholic feeling in England in favour of Maria Theresa. But Walpole hated war and was unwilling to go to war with Prussia, a Protestant country, on behalf of Austria, which was strongly Roman Catholic. But on Maria Theresa's refusal to make peace with Frederick II, George II made a treaty with Maria Theresa in June, 1741, promising to help her.

Thus, although France professed to be acting merely in defence of Bavaria and had not actually declared war on Austria, her diplomacy had made the war European.

II. The Treaty of Klein-Schönfeld, 1741.

A. Russia.

August 4th, 1741. Sweden, in agreement with France, declared war on Russia, which was therefore unable to carry out its intention to send 30,000 men to help Maria Theresa in accordance with the Treaty of 1738.

B. The invasion of Austria.

August 12th, 1741. A French army, wearing the Bavarian colours, crossed the Rhine and joined with their allies the Bavarians; the combined army took Linz on September 10th and came within three days' march of Vienna. On September 19th, Jägerndorff joined France, partly owing to the victory of Frederick at Mollwitz, partly owing to the skillful diplomacy of Belle-Isle and the success of the French and Bavarians at Linz. The fall of Vienna seemed imminent.

C. Hanover.

In order to save Hanover, threatened by a French army under Mélacq in Westphalia, George II on September 2d, 1741, made a treaty with France by which Hanover was to remain neutral, and George, as Elector of Hanover, promised to support Charles of Bavaria's candidacy for the Empire.

D. Hungary.

Maria Theresa, in great peril, turned to the Hungarians and allowed them to arm themselves. They shouted "moriamur pro rege nostro Maria Theresa," enthusiastically supported her cause, deserved an "imperiation," as levy en masse, and saved German Austria.

E. The Treaty of Klein-Schildendorf, 1741.

(1) Austria offers to France.

Maria Theresa in despair turned to France and offered to cede Luxembourg to France, the Netherlands to Bavaria and part of Italy to Spain if she could recover Silesia from Frederick and secure the Empire for her son-in-law, Philippe. Felipe, however, determined to handicap Austria, refused the offer.

(2) The Treaty.

Frederick II was now in Silesia, and a battle between him and Kaigang, commanding the only Austrian army, seemed imminent. Frederick distrusted France and resented her interference in Germany; he was angry, too, because Belle-Ile did not push on to Vienna, the fall of which would have ended the war and secured Silesia for Prussia. Frederick therefore, with the strong approval of Britain, agreed on October 9th, 1741, to the Treaty of Klein-Schildendorf, by which, he yielded to Anne his former allies, while Maria Theresa surrendered to him Lower Silesia and the town of Neisse.

¹ The accuracy of the famous story is doubtful.

(D) Criticism.

Maria Theresa thus secured Neipperg's army for the defence of Austria : Frederick, by breaking faith with France and making with Austria a peaceable he had no intention of keeping, secured a much-needed rest for his army and made an important addition to his territory.

III. To the Treaty of Berlin, 1748.

A. The Bohemian invasion of Bohemia, 1741.

Charles of Brunswick distrusted Frederick II and, finding that Neipperg was threatening his line of communication, gave up the idea of attacking Vienna, marched into Bohemia, where, with the help of the French and Saxons, he captured Prague on November 25th, 1741.

B. Frederick invades Moravia, 1741-1742.

¹ Frederick, on November 1st, 1741, with a cynical disregard for the Treaty of Kless-Göllingen², had agreed with Savoy and Bavaria to divide Maria Theresa's territories : he was to receive Silesia with the town of Glatz, which Charles of Bavaria ceded ; Bavaria was to get Bohemia, and Savoy Moravia.

Frederick, profiting by the fall of Prague, invaded Moravia and took Olmütz on December 27th, 1741. But the French and Saxons, who justly suspected Frederick's honesty, gave him less help than he anticipated : the Hungarian cavalry and the Moravian peasants greatly hampered him, and in April, 1742, he evacuated Moravia, which was immediately occupied by the Austrians.

C. The Hungarian invade Banat, 1742.

The Hungarians, strengthened by forces recalled by Maria Theresa from Italy and led by Khrenwitsch, re-occupied Banat in Upper Austria, on January 1st, 1742.

routed the Bavarians at Schabding, invaded Bavaria and took Munich on February 12th, 1748.

[On February 12th, 1748, Charles of Bavaria was crowned Emperor Charles VII.]

D. The Treaty of Berlin.

(1) Great Britain.

The treaty George II had made for the neutrality of Hanover and the move that he intended to support the French candidate for the Empire led to the fall of Walpole in February, 1742. His successor Carteret, a strong supporter of Maria Theresa, was determined to break the power of France, and to effect this purpose sent a British army to hold the Netherlands against France and tried to incourage Austria and Prussia.

(2) Sardinia.

Maria's cause had been helped by an alliance with Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia, who forced the growth of Spanish power in Italy, captured Modena, in July, 1748, and Lucca, and was greatly helped by the British fleet under Mathews, which, by a threat of bombarding Naples, compelled Don Carlos to withdraw his troops from Lombardy.

(3) Bohemia.

Fredrick II, realising the great value to Austria of the active help of Bohemia, was willing to make peace, but refused Maria Theresa's offer of Upper and Lower Silesia in condition that he would fight against France and Russia.

The Austrians, under Charles of Lorraine, invaded Bohemia and took Pilsen from the French, under Bruglie.

Fredrick feared that if the Austrians captured Prague, Maria Theresa would be strong enough to recover Silesia. He invited Charles of Lorraine at

Chotusice, or Quatreva, on May 11th, 1742.

Owing to this defeat and to strong pressure from Carteret, Maria Theresa came to terms with Frederick, who was in financial difficulties and knew that Fléury was negotiating with Vienna and had agreed that Sweden should receive part of Pomerania. By the Preliminaries of Bruxelles, in June, 1742, and the Treaty of Berlin, July 22nd, Maria Theresa ceded to Frederick Lower and Upper Silesia and Glatz. Augustus of Saxony made peace with Austria in September; he had ruined his army and finances and gained nothing.

Thus, owing mainly to Carteret's intervention, the scope of the war had been enlarged. The object was no longer to defend the Austrian territories, but to expel the French from Germany and to secure for Maria Theresa compensation for the loss of Silesia.

References:

The Balance of Power (1742), *Strategos*, Chap. vi.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, pp. 226-228.

Heroes of the Nations (Frederick the Great) (Biddleway).

Putnam, Chap. iv.

THE NEUTRALITY OF PRUSSIA

Maria Theresa, relieved of the danger from Prussia, determined to annex part of Bavaria, ceding to the Emperor Charles VII the Netherlands and part of Northern France. Her immediate object was to destroy Broglie's French army in Bohemia.

I. Bohemia and Bavaria.

A. The French driven out of Bohemia, 1742.

The Austrians drove Broglie into Prague and besieged the city in June. Mailletain brought his army from Wurzburg, but failed to raise the siege. In December Dufé-Dieu, left to command of Prague by Broglie's

departure, by a brilliant march had 14,000 French troops to Epernay, being 2000 owing to bitter cold and the attacks of the Hungarian cavalry.

December 28th. Courvoisier surrendered Prague to the Austrians, who entered Bohemia, although Epernay held out until August, 1743.

B. Bavaria.

Burgoyne now entered Bavaria and joined the Emperor Charles VII, who had taken Mainz in October, 1742, and recovered the greater part of Bavaria. But Charles of Lorraine defeated the Bavarians at Stuhbach, and the Austrians took Mainz on June 9th, 1743. The Emperor, who fled to Frankfort, was compelled in the same month to agree to the Convention of Niederschleissfeld, which left most of Bavaria in Austrian hands and neutralized the Bavarian army.

Maria Theresa had been crowned in Prague in April, and entered Vienna in triumph. Blasted by success, she now resolved to wrest Alsace and Lorraine from France and to replace the Emperor Charles VII by her own husband Francis.

C. Death of Henry.

January 29th, 1743. Henry died at the age of eighty-nine.

D. Domestic policy.

Henry's opposition to war had given France a rest which she badly needed and promoted material prosperity. Under his laissez-faire policy commerce grew, the colonies prospered, the towns, and especially Paris, became more wealthy. His economical administration, the reduction of the taille and the stabilizing of the coinage moreover improved the condition of the finances, but he failed to establish the finances on a sound footing, and his introduction of the corvée inflicted great hardship on the lower classes.

(3) Foreign policy.

He tried to preserve peace and not only averted war with Great Britain, but for a time succeeded in forming a union between Great Britain, France and Spain; the Treaty of Sarrebourg, the establishment of French influence in Lorraine, leading to its ultimate acquisition by France, and the Treaty of Tilsit were his most successful achievements. He incurred the opposition of the war party owing to his support of the British alliance and his refusal to adopt the old policy of unmitigated hostility towards the Huguenots.¹² More reactions of office than principle, he ought to have resisted royal pressure in the Polish War and popular clamour in the Austrian.¹³ He maintained the prestige of France in Europe, but surely failed to appreciate the importance of the French colonies; his gravest fault, which was soon to have fatal consequences, was his failure to maintain the French navy.]

II. Dettingen, 1743.

The British and Hessians in the Netherlands, reinforced by Austrians, formed the Pragmatic Army under Lord Salm, who resolved to capture the Empire at Frankfurt and to attack the French army under Turenne which remained in Flanders. After some delay, due to doubts as to the attitude of Holland, Salm, further reinforced by 20,000 Dutch sent by the Orange party, who had gained the supremacy and were beneficiary enemies of France, advanced to the Main. George II took command of the Pragmatic Army and defeated Neudler at Dettingen on June 28th, 1743, owing to the foolish tactics of the French. George neglected to follow up his victory, which proved of little value to his side, and fell back to Hanau.

The Allies now resolved to invade France, the Prag-

¹² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, page 161.

east Army from the North, Charles of Lorraine from Alsace. Their attempts were foiled by Sagan and Neidler.

Thus, although the French had been driven out of Germany, the Austrians and their allies failed to invade France.

III. The Project of Hanau, 1748.

Carteret tried to reconcile Maria Theresa and Charles VII in order to unite the Empire against France. He suggested that Austria and Bohemia should recover occupied territory, that Maria Theresa should recognize Charles as Emperor, that Charles should renounce his friendship with France in return for subsidies from Great Britain.

This arrangement would have made George II, as Elector of Hanover, one of the leading princes in Germany, have checked the predominance of Austria and seriously endangered France. But it would have injured the true interests of Britain, which required active opposition to France in the colonies rather than on the Continent.

The Project failed because Charles refused to act against France and Maria Theresa to give up Bavaria without compensation for the loss of Silesia.

IV. The Treaty of Worms, September, 1748.

The Spanish general Gagger again attacked Lombardy, but was routed at Campo Sanico by the Austrians under Trasvi. But Charles Emmanuel, disappointed because he had received no territorial concessions from Maria Theresa, refused active co-operation and opened negotiations with France and Spain. Owing to strong pressure from Great Britain, Maria Theresa reluctantly made with Charles Emmanuel the Treaty of Worms on September 10th, 1748, by which, in return for his help in

securing Austrian territory in Lombardy and expelling the Bourbons from Italy, and "in order that she might act more vigorously in Germany," she ceded to him Parma, Piacenza, part of the Milanese and the right of buying Franche-Comté from the Germans, to whom Charles VIII had sold it in 1718. Britain agreed to keep a strong fleet in the Mediterranean and to pay Charles Emmanuel an annual subsidy of £200,000 during the war.

September, 1743. France declared war on Sardinia.

V. The Treaty of Fontainebleau, October, 1743.

Maria Theresa was now free to carry out her designs in Lorraine and the Netherlands; Elisabeth Farnese was fearless at the seizure by Sardinia of Italian territory which she hoped to secure for Don Philip; the French were tired of the war in Germany, but strongly resented Maria Theresa's designs on French territory; the old hatred of Great Britain was revived.

France and Spain, which had not been closely united during Fleury's administration, met the Treaty of Wye or by the Treaty of Fontainebleau, October 24th, 1743, the "Second Family Compact."¹ The two countries formed a permanent alliance. Louis XV undertook to join Spain in war on Sardinia in order to secure the Milanese, Parma, and Piacenza for Don Philip and to deprive Sardinia of the territory she had gained by the Peace of Utrecht; to help Spain to recover Gibraltar and Minorca from Great Britain, which was to be deprived of the Asiento.

VI. France Declares War on Great Britain and Austria, 1744.

March 18th, 1744. France formally declared war on Great Britain, although the two countries had been fighting for some time; they had fought at Dettingen; in February, 1744 an unsuccessful attempt had been made by the French fleet to attack England on behalf of the Provinces, and a drawn battle had been fought off Toulon.

¹ The First was made in 1733 (page 27), the Third in 1744 (page 126).

April 26th, 1743. France formally declared war on Austria.

The Europe was again divided into two groups; Great Britain headed one and France the other; the Pragmatic Sanction was no longer the only basis; the colonial struggle in America and India and naval supremacy were equally important questions. "France aimed both at the rival of Austria on the Continent and of Britain on the sea and in the colonies."¹

A. The Netherlands, 1744.

Karl de Saxe² easily overran Western Flanders; the British under Wade proved insufficient; the Dutch were slow in sending help, and Saxe soon captured Ostend, Menin, Ypres and others of the Barrier Fortresses. But he was compelled to send a large force to assist the Austrians in Alsace, and therefore was unable to do more than hold his conquests.

B. Alsace, 1744.

Charles of Lorraine now invaded Alsace and drove a French and Bavarian force back to Strasburg. Louis XV took the field in person.³

The invasion of Bohemia by Frederick II led to the recall of Charles of Lorraine and marks the beginning of the Second Silesian War.

[For references, see page 86.]

THE SECOND SILESIAN WAR, AUGUST, 1744—DECEMBER 25TH, 1745.

I. Causes.

A. Frederick's fear of Austria.

The success of Austria in 1743 and the Treaty of Worms alarmed Frederick II. That Treaty had guaranteed the Austrian dominions, and the guarantee had

¹ Russell.

² Son of Augustus II of Poland and Sophie von Pfalz-Neuburg.

³ His recovery from serious illness at Metz in August led to great rejoicing and gained for him the nickname of "the Black".

been repeated in the Treaty of Vienna concluded in December, 1743, between Austria and Saxony. Frederick feared that Maria Theresa would take advantage of her greatly improved position to regain Silesia and Lower Prussia.

He objected to the Austrian occupation of Bavaria because he was an adherent of Charles VII, because the addition of Bavaria would make Austria too strong and because the alliance of Bavaria challenged the rights of the German princes.

B. The Union of Frankfurt, May, 1744.

Frederick had encouraged Charles VII to continue his resistance to Maria Theresa and had tried to stir up Brandenburg and Turkey against Austria. He now formed on May 22nd, 1744, with Charles VII, the Elector Palatine and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel, the Union of Frankfurt, which aimed at restoring the constitution of the Empire, securing the recognition of Charles VII as Emperor and the restoration of Bavaria to him. A secret treaty between Frederick and the Emperor arranged that the former should get Silesia and the adjacent Bohemian Cities, while the rest of Bohemia and Upper Austria should go to the Emperor. France agreed to both treaties.

But Frederick, who obtained less support than he hoped from Germany, made on June 8th, 1744, an agreement with France. Louis XV undertook to invade the Netherlands and Hanover and to pursue Charles of Lorraine if he returned from Alsace to oppose Frederick. Frederick undertook to invade Bohemia.

C. Frederick II Invades Bohemia, 1744.

Frederick invaded Bohemia in August, 1744, and took Prague on September 16th. He then invaded Austria and proposed to attack Vienna. But Augustus of Saxony sent 20,000 men to help the Austrians; Charles of Lorraine returned from Alsace, but the French did not keep

their promise to follow him up; the troops of Bavaria, Hesse and the Palatinate under Sackenbork were more anxious to recover Bavaria than to help Frederick, who was compelled to evacuate Prague and retreat into Silesia.

Frederick's invasion had helped the French by drawing Charles of Lorraine from Alsace; enabled Charles VII to recover Bavaria and retain Mainz on October 16th; shown to Frederick the worthlessness of French protection and provoked an Austria invasion of Silesia which was repulsed in January, 1745, by Leopold of Dessau; assisted Saxo to retain his conquests in the Netherlands. It led also to the Treaty of Warsaw made on January 2nd, 1745, between Great Britain, Holland, Austria and Augustus III, King of Poland and Elector of Saxony. By this the Pragmatic Sanction was guaranteed; Saxony which was to receive Schlesien, promised to help Austria in Bohemia and to support the candidate of France, Maria Theresa's husband, for the Empire; Great Britain and Holland were to provide subsidies.

III. Diplomacy in 1745.

A. The Treaty of Warsaw, 1745.

January 2nd, 1745. Charles VII died. His death broke up the Union of Frankfurt and deprived France of a useful ally. His son Maximilian II was only eighteen; there was no prospect of his succeeding to the Empire, and after Bayreuth had defeated the French and Bavarians and again secured Bavaria for the Austrians, Maximilian made the Treaty of Warsaw with the Austrians on April 2nd, 1745. By this he renounced his Electorate of Bavaria, renounced all claims on the Hagenburg possessions and promised to vote for Maria Theresa's husband, Fonso of Lorraine as the next Emperor and to take no further part in the war.

B. Treaty of Warsaw.

Austria and Saxony ratified the Treaty of Warsaw in May, 1745, and agreed to partition Prussia and reduce her to the boundaries of the old Mark of Brandenburg.

C. Frederick's danger.

The Electors of Cologne and Mainz had accepted British subsidies; Russia now withdrew her troops to guarantee the Treaty of Berlin; Maria Theresa refused to consider the suggestion made by Great Britain for a general peace and Frederick "was left to his own resources and to the valour of his soldiers."¹²

IV. The War from July to December, 1748.**A. The Austrians invade Silesia.**

(I) Hohenfriedberg.

May, 1748. The Austrians under Charles of Lorraine, strengthened by 30,000 Saxons, invaded Silesia, but were defeated by Frederick at June 4th, 1748, at Hohenfriedberg, where the Prussian cavalry proved very successful.

(II) Böhm.

Frederick invaded Bohemia, but was compelled to retire into Silesia after defeating a much larger force of Austrians at Böhm on September 30th.

B. The Netherlands.

(I) Fontenoy.

May 18th, 1748. Saxe besieged Tournay and defeated at Fontenoy the Pragmatic Army under Cumberland and Kriegsgeg, who lost the battle owing to the inefficiency of their Dutch allies.

Owing to Saxe's victory Löwendal took Tournay on May 22nd and Ghent on July 11th.

(II) Effects of the Forty Five.

The rising of the Forty Five in July compelled Cumberland and the British troops to return to England, and the French captured Bruges, Oudenaarde, Dendermonde and Ostend, which was the English base.

C. Italy (page 87).

D. The Convention of Hanover, 1743.

The Austrians were holding Bohemia or posted on the Rhine to check the French army under Cossé, and to sustain the crisis of France at the impending Imperial election.

George II, fearing that Spain's success might endanger Hanover and anxious to win over France, wished to secure further Austria help in the Netherlands; Frederick II was in financial difficulties, feared that Maria Theresa might induce Russia to support her against Prussia, objected to the operations in the Netherlands and was anxious for more vigorous efforts in Germany which would strengthen his hold on Silesia.

August 26th, 1742. By the Convention of Hanover Frederick was to be assured of Silesia, to support the election of Fréçois as Emperor, to assist Hanover if necessary. George II undertook to try to induce Maria Theresa to make peace with Frederick II within six weeks.

Maria Theresa, strongly resisted the advice of Great Britain, was finally resolved to regain Silesia, secured the election of her husband the Archduke Fréçois as Emperor on September 12th. She now made overtures to France and offered to give up the Netherlands if France would acknowledge the Emperor Fréçois and make peace. D'Argenson refused to break the French alliance with Prussia, foolishly rejected Maria Theresa's offer and tried to induce Charles Emmanuel of Savoy to change sides.

The Franco-Prussian alliance continued.

E. The Treaty of Dresden, December, 1743.

(1) Frederick invades Saxony.

After Reichenberg, Frederick tried, unsuccessfully, to win over Augustus of Saxony. Russia had

warned Frederick that she would not tolerate an invasion of Saxony; but Frederick, learning that Maria Theresa and Augustus intended to invade Brandenburg, himself invaded Saxony.

November 23rd, 1746. Frederick II defeated Charles of Lorraine, who was marching against Brandenburg, at Grossenwerder in Lusatia.

December 10th, 1746. Leopold of Austria, "the old Emperor," who had taken Leipzig, defeated the Austrians and Saxons at Kesselsdorf.

December 18th, 1746. Frederick II entered Dresden.

Owing to the success of Frederick and to the defeat of the Austrians in Italy,¹ Maria Theresa was forced to come to terms with Frederick II.

(3) The Treaties of Dresden, December 28th, 1748.

a. Terms.

Prussia now made treaties with Saxony and Austria. Frederick II restored Saxony to Augustus, whose wife,² the daughter of Joseph I, renounced any claim to the territories ceded to Prussia by the Treaty of Berlin.³ Augustus paid an indemnity of a million dollars to Frederick. Maria Theresa, realising the need of strengthening the Austrian forces in Italy, renounced Silesia and Olmütz; Frederick II recognised the election of the Emperor Francis I, against which he had previously protested.

b. Criticism.

(i) Prussia.

Frederick had saved Prussia and kept Silesia, but failed to gain further territory. The position of Prussia was greatly improved; "the Empire had been regained by the Hohenzollern, but its authority over Prussia was weakened";

¹ Page 57.

² Genealogical Tree, page 41.

³ Page 55.

from this time Prussia is not so much a state of Germany as an independent European power. Frederick now secured for Prussia a "dazzling" period of growth and repose which enabled him to come successfully through the Seven Years' War.

(ii) France.

France lost prestige. Frederick had treacherously deserted her; the loss of Bavaria, the concession of Hanover and the election of Francis I, the failure of the Party Five and the Treaty of Berlin had been severe blows to the policy of Louis XV.

(iii) Austria.

Austria had lost Silesia and Galicia, but maintained her supremacy over Bohemia, secured the Empire and was left free for more extensive operations in Italy.

George II had saved Hanover and detached Frederick II from France, which was the great rival of Britain.

References:

The Balance of Power (Hassall), Bivington, chap. vii.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. VII.

House of the Habsburgs (Frederick the Great) (Bridgeman), Petman, chap. v.

Elizabeth Farnese (Armstrong), chap. XI.

THE WAR IN EUROPE FROM THE TREATIES OF BERLIN TO THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, 1743-1748

The withdrawal of Prussia limited the area of the war in Europe. France could secure success only in Italy and the Netherlands. In Italy the desire of Charles Emmanuel to add new territory to Sardinia, of Maria Theresa to maintain her hold on the Austrian

possessions, of Elizabeth Farnese to strengthen the Spanish power, were important factors. Maria Theresa left the defence of the Netherlands largely to the Maritime Nations; Great Britain would be endangered if France secured the coast-line; the establishment of the French in the Netherlands threatened the security of Holland, and possibly Hanover.

I. Italy from 1746-1748.

Operations* in 1746 had not been decisive. The Austrians and Sardinians under Lekkowitsch had driven the Spaniards southwards to the borders of Naples, but a Franco-Spanish attack on Piedmont had led to the return of the Sardinian troops to defend it, and in consequence Lekkowitsch was too weak to invade Naples and retired to the winter in Lower Lombardy.

A. Austrian Distress in 1748.

The Spaniards, allied with France by the Treaty of Fontainebleau and supported by Genoa, which accepted the Treaty of Worms by which Piemont was to be added to Sardinia, made a great effort in 1748 to conquer Northern Italy. The alliance of Genoa gave the Bourbons control of the Riviera ports; the Spaniards under Don Philip and the French under Maillyneuf, who had attacked Piedmont, were joined near Genoa by a Spanish-Sicilian army under Gage and by the Genoese.

The Duke of Modena marched against the Milanese, took Piacenza (August 6th, 1748), Parma and Modena and cutted the Austrian communications with the Tyrol. The Austrians under Schellenberg therefore left Charles Emmanuel to defend Lombardy and moved eastward to defend the Milanese.

September 27th, 1748. The Sardinians under Charles Emmanuel were routed by Gage at Bassigana.

Differences arose between the French, anxious to complete the conquest of Piedmont, and Gage, who wished to conquer Lombardy. Charles Emmanuel kept the

Austrians for the defence of Piedmont by a threat that if they failed him again he would make peace with France.

Mallebot took Alessandria on October 15th, 1746. Gage took Asti and Casale in November, and on December 16th entered Milan.

The successes of her enemies in Italy compelled Maria Theresa to agree to the Treaty of Dresden¹ with Frederick II.

B. Austrian successes in 1746.

(i) D'Argenson's Italian scheme.

Charles Emmanuel, realising that his defeat was partly due to the fact that Maria Theresa was protected by war with France and her desire to defend the Milanese from sending him adequate help, now entered into negotiations with D'Argenson, who aimed at the maintenance of peace with France, opposition to Austria and Great Britain and the termination of the close union between France and Spain recently made by the Treaty of Fontainebleau. D'Argenson proposed that Sardinia and France should form an alliance, that the Hapsburgs should be expelled from Italy, that an Italian confederation should be formed of princes who possessed no territory outside Italy and that Sardinia, which was to receive much of the Milanese, was to be the leading state of the confederation.

(ii) Criticism.

The scheme was precarious, for there was no real demand for national independence in Italy, and if those had been Sardinia was not strong enough to unify it. The destruction of the Austrian power would have Sardinia exposed to danger from King Charles of Naples (Don Carlos) and Don Philip, who might count upon Spanish and possibly French sup-

¹ Page 65

part; the danger from France would be increased since Charles Emmanuel would no longer be able to secure any support from Austria.

Elisabeth Farnese objected to a scheme which made inadequate provision for Don Philip, and was angry that Spain had not been consulted that she opened negotiations with Austria. Charles Emmanuel, despairing of assistance from Austria, signed a preliminary Treaty of Tarsis with France on December 29th, 1743.

(1) Operations in 1744-5.

(1) The expulsion of the French from Italy.

The treatise of Dresden saved Charles Emmanuel; Maria Theresa sent 35,000 Austrian troops to Italy, and by prolonging his negotiations with D'Argenson Charles Emmanuel secured a suspension of arms until the end of February, thus gaining security until the Austrians arrived.

On the approach of the Austrians under Lichtenstein, Charles Emmanuel suddenly broke off his negotiations with D'Argenson, seized Asti on March 5th, 1744, and raised the siege of Alessandria. The Spaniards evacuated Milan (on March 18th) and Pavia.

June 15th, 1744. Charles Emmanuel and Lichtenstein defeated Mallobert and Gage at Fiesozza. By a skilful ruse Mallobert, accompanied by Gage's incompetent successor La Mea, withdrew his army to France and the Austrians took Genoa on September 6th, while Charles Emmanuel secured Finale and Savona.

(2) The invasion of Provence.

Philip V of Spain died on July 9th, 1746. His successor, Ferdinand VI, had no sympathy with the British interests of his stepmother Elisabeth Farnese, and withdrew the Spanish troops from the North of

Italy. The Austrians wished to drive the Spaniards out of Naples and Sicily, but Charles Emmanuel, who was on bad terms with Sardinia, who had succeeded Piedmont, refused to agree, as he did not wish the Austrians to become too powerful in Italy. The British, anxious to counterbalance Sardinia's victories in the Netherlands, insisted on an invasion of Provence and an attack on Toulon, a danger to their Mediterranean fleet.

Charles Emmanuel and the Austrians invaded Provence and besieged Antibes, but a rising in December, 1743, of the Genoese, provoked by the cruelty of Sardinia's soldiers, continued quarrels between the Austrians and Sardinians, and the skillful strategy of Belle-Isle, the French general, compelled them to evacuate Provence in February, 1743.

D. The end of the War in Italy.

The Austrians and Sardinians, assisted by a British squadron, now besieged Genoa. Belle-Isle, to help Genoa, invaded Piedmont and drove off the Sardinians from the siege. He was routed at Eutes on July 19th, 1743, and withdrew to France, but Genoa succeeded in holding out against the Austrians, who capitulated the siege, and peace was made in 1748.

II. The Netherlands.

A. The capture of Brussels.

Saxe, profiting by the absence of Cumberland and the British, took Brussels on February 20th, 1748. Holland was very anxious to make peace with France. But D'Argenson, prostrated with his Italian scheme and anxious to arrange a general peace with Austria and Great Britain, refused to entertain his offer, partly because the prospects of the opponents of France had been improved by the defeat of the Young Pretender at Culloden on April 16th and of Maillebois at Fleurus on June 13th, 1746.

B. The Conquest of the Austrian Netherlands.

Saxe now wished to invade Holland, but was ordered to reduce the Eastern Netherlands.

The French took Antwerp on June 3rd, Menen and Charleroi.

Maria Theresa now sent Charles of Lorraine, who had already shown his incapacity, to oppose Saxe; he was helped by British troops, but as English divisions against Utrecht, proved a failure.

Saxe took Namur on September 21st, 1746, defeated a force of British, Austrians and Dutch under Charles of Lorraine at Rosoux on October 11th, 1746. By the end of the year he had conquered all the Austrian Netherlands except Limburg and Luxembourg.

[To prevent the Elector of Saxony from sending troops to Great Britain, France purchased his neutrality for two million francs a year, and the Dauphin married the daughter of Augustus III on January 1st, 1747.]

C. The end of the war.

Cumberland was put at the head of an allied army of 70,000 men. He failed to retake Antwerp, and Saxe's General Löwendahl entered Dutch Flanders and took Sluis. The attack on Dutch territory led to a revolution in Holland, and William IV d'Orange was appointed Stadtholder in May, 1747.

Saxe threatened Maastricht; Cumberland advanced to save it, but, owing to the weakness of his Dutch forces, was defeated by Saxe after a stubborn battle at Lexel on July 2nd, 1747. Maastricht held out, but Löwendahl took Bergen op Zoom on July 14th and secured Dutch Brabant, which was weakly defended by its Dutch garrison.

[For references, see page 86.]

THE COLONIAL AND MARITIME WAR

The Peace of Utrecht,¹² "more like an informal truce than a treaty of peace,"¹³ was ultimately to lead to war in America. But during the early part of the eighteenth century the differences that arose between France and Spain prevented a union of both against Great Britain; the Regent Orleans desired to ensure his own succession if the young King died and was anxious to secure British support; Fleury's policy was pacific; British statesmen wished to avoid any quarrel with France, who could support a Jacobite invasion at any time. The colonial history of both countries was for years to be commercial rather than political. The position was changed when Louis XV declared war on Great Britain in March, 1744.

For Great Britain the War of the Austrian Succession was an important episode in the development of her colonial empire and the growth of her naval power.

I. India.

A. The break-up of the Mogul Empire.

After the death of Aurangzeb in 1707 the Mogul Empire rapidly declined; former viceroys made themselves independent rulers in Oudh, Bengal and Hyderabad; the Sikhs seized the Upper Indus, the Rajputs the Lower; the old Maratha chiefly of Mysore was restored; the Maratha Confederacy, the most powerful of the new states, was established in Central India and by about 1740 "was impinging on all the British chief settlements in India."¹⁴

B. French and British settlements.

(i) The French.

Law's operations had stimulated commerce, and Colbert's East India Company, which was reconstituted after Law's fall, rapidly extended its operations.

¹² See, *The Great English Empire*, page 62.

¹³ *Cambridge Modern History*.

In India. The chief French settlement was the Presidency of Pondicherry with its dependency of Chandernagore; the French had also Srirangam and Mysorepatnam and an important naval base in the Mauritius.

The French East India Company was strictly controlled by the Government; it made no real profits and was maintained by Government subsidies.

(2) The British.

The British East India Company was a corporation of London merchants who, in return for large loans to the British Government, had practically secured exemption from political control. The British possessed the three Presidencies of Bombay, Madras and Calcutta; their strategic position was better, they had a greater volume of trade and were far more wealthy than their rivals. The superiority of the British fleet was an important factor.

C. Dupleix.

(1) General policy.

The French hoped to take advantage of the break-up of the Mogul Empire to put the finances of their East India Company on a satisfactory footing. Dupleix, who was Governor of Chandernagore from 1730-1743, greatly increased the trade of the Company, but on becoming Governor of Pondicherry in 1743 determined to combine with native rulers against the British; his aims were political and not merely commercial. He fortified Pondicherry and established friendly relations with the Nawab of the Carnatic, who in 1743 refused to allow a British fleet to bombard Pondicherry.

(2) Dupleix and Robert Clive.

Robert Clive, the Governor of the Mauritius, equipped a fleet and on September 22nd, 1746, captured Madras, which he agreed to restore to the

British for £400,000. Duplex claimed Madras, compelled Labouenzain's agreement and defeated the Nawab of the Carnatic, who claimed the town as a part of his territory. Labouenzain returned to France, where he was sent to the Bastille, having twelve hundred troops in India. Duplex now failed to capture Port St. David, but bravely repelled an attack of the British fleet at Pondicherry in 1746.

Although Madras was restored to Great Britain by the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Duplex had shown great ability and strengthened the prestige of France in India.

II. America.

The terms of the Peace of Utrecht had forbidden the French in Canada to interfere with the Five Nations (Iroquois) who were subject to Great Britain; ceded Acadia "with its ancient boundaries" to Britain; given to Great Britain the Asiento, or right of supplying 600 negroes a year for thirty years to Spanish America, and permission to send one merchant ship of 200 tons each year to trade with the Spanish Main.

These conditions were sure to lead to war. Duplex wrote as to the "ancient boundaries" of Acadia; the British claimed all Iroquois territory any land that the Five Nations had ever entered; the Asiento proved wasteful of human life and unremunerative; and the African Company, which took the contract over after the collapse of the South Sea Company, was heavily indebted to the King of Spain; the profitable trade with the Spanish Main led to smuggling, and the harshness with which the Spanish officials tried to suppress it caused great resentment in Great Britain.

A. North America from 1744-1763.

(1) The French.

French explorers reached Colorado in 1708 and the spurs of the Rocky Mountains in 1743, and tried to

win over the Indian tribes of the prairies in order to check the advance of the British.

The French colonies of Louisiana and Canada were connected by a line of posts which harassed the westward extension of the British; these included Crown Point on Lake Champlain, built 1759, which commanded the route from New York to the St. Lawrence; Frontenac, guarding Lake Ontario; Niagara, which cut off the English from the Iroquois living beyond the lakes; Chateauguay, which commanded the Lower Mississippi.

The French governors claimed "that lands west of the Alleghanies belonged by right of discovery to the French crown." They built in 1758 a strong naval base at Louisburg on Cape Breton, which commanded the St. Lawrence, and the Louisbourg privateers did great damage to American merchant shipping.

(2) The British.

The British were weakened by quarrels between the Dutch of Albany, who wished to trade with Canada, and the authorities of New York, who wished to stop any trade with the French; the Americans refused to take the oath of allegiance to King George and longed for restoration to France; quarrels between colonial Governors and their Assemblies and between different colonies rendered united action impossible against the French.

War was inevitable, but the ultimate issue was doubtful; Great Britain had command of the sea, but Canada had greater military forces. Their dependence upon Great Britain for protection against the French deferred the quarrel between the British colonies and the mother country that arose after the defeat of the French.

(B. The War of Jenkins' Ear.

The War of Jenkins' Ear was provoked by the cruelty with which the right of search, claimed by the Spaniards

in the West Indies, was exercised by the *guarimatos*.³

1740. Vernon captured Portobello, the base of the Spanish treasure vessels.

1741. Prince of Wentworth's attack on Cartagena and Santiago.]

C. War from 1744-1748.

Although Great Britain and France were nominally at peace, war had been practically imminent between the two in America, and the British colonists on the New England borders had suffered terribly from raids of the Indian allies of France. The formal declaration of war by Louis XV in March, 1744, led to active operations.

1744. Indians and French from Louisbourg invaded Acadia, but failed to take Annapolis.

June 17th, 1744. A force organized by the Governor of Massachusetts, assisted by the West Indian squadron, captured Louisbourg after a siege of forty-nine days.

May 3rd, 1747. A French fleet taking reinforcements to India and Canada was defeated by Anson off Plassey.

October 28th, 1747. A French fleet going to the West Indies was defeated by Hawke off Belle Isle. These victories broke the French naval power, enabled the British to keep Louisbourg and to hold out against Dupleix in India.

The capture of Louisbourg for Madras by the Prince of Aix-la-Chapelle caused great disappointment in the New England states.

References:

The Expansion of the British Empire (Woodward), Cambridge University Press, chapter 17 and v.

The Growth of the Empire (Jones), John Murray, chapter 10-11.

³ *Guarimatos* officials.

THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

I. The Desire for Peace.

By the beginning of 1748 all parties desired peace.

A. Great Britain.

The British were disappointed at their failure in the Netherlands and exasperated with the Dutch, to whose incapacity those failures were largely due; annoyed because, although the Netherlands were an Austrian possession, the majority of the Austrian forces were fighting in Italy; they saw no chance of advantage from a continuance of the war in the Netherlands, of which Great Britain bore most of the cost. Cumberland asserted "a tolerable peace is absolutely necessary."

B. France.

France was weary of war; her finances were embarrassed, partly owing to the heavy losses inflicted on her mercantile marine by the British navy. Treaties were made by Great Britain, Holland and Russia in November, 1747, and by Great Britain, Maria Theresa, Russia, Berlin and Holland in January, 1748, "to ruin French commerce," and the advance of a Russian army to the Rhine in 1748 made France more eager for peace. Madame de Pompadour, Louis' new mistress, pressed for peace. In 1748 Saxe again besieged Maastricht, the capture of which would have facilitated an advance into Holland, and the Dutch in consequence were anxious to make peace to save Maastricht.

C. Spain, Austria and Scotland.

Pius VI of Spain disapproved of Elizabeth Farnese's aggressive policy and wanted peace, partly owing to the financial exhaustion of Spain.

Maria Theresa, who had obtained a promise of Russian

help, and Charles Emmanuel of Sardinia, who wished to keep Piemonte and Piacenza, wished to continue the war, but without British subsidies and the British fleet further success in Italy could not be expected.

Austria was beginning to realise that Prussia and not France was her greatest enemy and that her old alliance with the Maritime Powers had therefore lost much of its value.

Owing to the action of Great Britain and Holland the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was signed on October 18th, 1748, and accepted by Spain, Austria, Genoa, Modena and Sardinia by the end of November.

II. Terms.

- (1) Prussia was confirmed in the possession of Silesia and Glatz.
- (2) Don Philip obtained Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla. With these exceptions the Pragmatic Sanction was accepted by all the parties.
- (3) Charles Emmanuel recovered Savoy and Nice and received Upper Nervara and Tigovano, thus extending his territory in the Mairane to the Taro.
- (4) Flandre was restored to France, and Modena to the Duke.
- (5) Louis XV promised to exclude the Pretender from France, to recognise the Habsburgian Succession and to destroy the fortifications of Dunkirk that faced the sea.
- (6) The French evacuated the Austrian Netherlands and restored the Barrier Fortresses to the Dutch.
- (7) Great Britain and France agreed to restore their conquests : Louisbourg was given back to France, Martinique to Great Britain.

III. Criticism.

A. Inconclusive and unsatisfactory.

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle had some permanent results. It ended the struggle for Italy between the

Habsburgs and Bourbons ; it strengthened Prussia by the addition of Silesia ; it finally broke the hopes of the Jacobites. It was an important episode in the history of Sardinia, revealed more clearly the decline of Holland and showed the growing importance of Russia.

But with these exceptions the Peace was little more than the establishment of the status quo ante bellum. "Never perhaps did any war, after so many great events and so large a loss of blood and treasure, end in replacing the nations engaged in it so nearly in the same situation as they held at first."¹

The Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle was merely a truce. Nothing was said about the right of search which had caused the War of Jenkins' Ear ; the problem as to the possession of St. Vincent, St. Lucia, Tobago and other West Indian Islands was left unsettled ; the disputed boundaries of the British and French possessions in America were not defined ; the struggle between France and Great Britain for naval supremacy was left unsettled ; Maria Theresa asserted the cession of Silesia to Prussia and of Fiume and Pisa to Don Philip, and the return of the Barrier Fortresses to the Dutch, who had shown themselves incapable of holding them against Prussia ; Sardinia objected to the cession of Friesland to Great Britain. A renewal of war between Austria and Prussia and Great Britain and France was only a question of time.

3. France.

France was greatly weakened by the war. French arms had gained few successes, but Saxe, a Saxon commanding French armies, had won brilliant victories in the Netherlands. But Louis XV, who declared that he would "make peace as a King and not as a tradesman," utterly failed to take advantage of the opportunities Saxe had given him, and France gained no

¹ Quoted by Basset.

territory. Bellerive's scheme for the dismemberment of Austria had failed, and the reconciliation of Bavaria and Austria deprived France of a valuable ally in Germany; the French navy had been crippled; French resources had been taxed and the national debt increased by twelve hundred million livres. "Bête sauvage la paix" was the judgment of Paris.

C. Great Britain.

Great Britain gained little in return for her heavy outlay of men and money. The British, unlike George II., cared little for the safety of Hanover; no new territory was acquired. But the navy had been made efficient and was destined to prove of the greatest value in the Seven Years' War. Britain had secured a commanding position in Europe, and the Hanoverian succession was assured.

D. Prussia.

Prussia had become a first-class military power and by the acquisition of Silesia had increased her territory by about a third.

North Germany begins to assert her independence of South.

E. Austria.

Although she had lost Silesia, Tuscany and Tirol, Austria gained considerable advantages. She had escaped the disruption, which seemed likely in 1740, when Fleury desired that "the house of Austria had ceased to exist"; the war and the strong loyalty to Maria Theresa which it evoked proved a bond of union between the Austrian territories, and the close connection with Hungary was a source of strength; Bavaria and Saxony were now allies and the friendship with Russia had been maintained. But the old connection with Great Britain had been weakened; strong resentment had been excited in Vienna by the somewhat high-handed

diplomacy with which Great Britain had compelled Austria to agree to the Treaties of Berlin, Dresden and Worms and the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; this recentness proved an important factor in the reversal of alliances which was soon to take place.

References: As on page 86, and particularly—

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, pp. 249 and 253.

The Balance of Power (Russell), Edinburgh, pp. 229-233.

SECTION III

EUROPEAN DIPLOMACY
FROM THE PEACE OF AIX-LA-CHAPELLE,
TO THE END OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR
1748-1763

AUSTRIAN DIPLOMACY FROM 1748-1758

After the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, Europe was divided into two parties: Great Britain, followed by Holland, was aligned with Austria and Russia, united by the Treaty of St. Petersburg, 1743, against France, Prussia and Spain. The eight years following the Peace saw a complete change in this arrangement.

I. Austria and Great Britain.

A. Prussia and Silesia.

Great Britain was an old ally of Austria, but the Austrians had strongly resented the neutrality Walpole preserved in the War of the Polish Succession; the overbearing diplomacy of Great Britain had compelled Maria Theresa most unwillingly to cede Silesia to Frederick II.

Maria Theresa hated Frederick II and was determined to recover Silesia because its loss seriously damaged the prestige of the Habsburgs and weakened the German element in the Austrian dominions, and also because she was a devout Roman Catholic and resented the cession of her former territory to a Protestant King. But George II was reluctant to take any steps against Prussia, which could retaliate by invading Hanover; and although in 1756 Great Britain joined the alliance of Austria and Russia, she refused to support warlike operations against Frederick II.

B. The election of Joseph as King of the Romans.

Maria was anxious to secure the election of her elder son the Archduke Joseph¹ as King of the Romans

¹ From 1765 to 1790 the Emperor Joseph II.

and thus to ensure his succession to the Empire. George II, as Elector of Hanover, supported Joseph's candidature to assist Maria Theresa, and his influence with the Electors of Bavaria, Cologne and Saxony seemed likely to secure their support. But the Electors demanded, as the price of their support, concessions which Maria Theresa was unwilling to make; she particularly resented a claim for compensation for losses sustained in the recent war by Charles, the Elector Palatine, who had fought on the French side against Austria. George II supported the claims of the Elector Palatine, and owing to his action, to his attempt to increase the prestige of Hanover during the negotiations, and the delay in the election, which did not take place until March 30th, 1761, Maria Theresa became still more suspicious against Great Britain.

C. The Netherlands.

(1) Weakening of Austrian influence.

Owing to the closing of the Scheldt, the restoration of the Barrier Fortresses to Holland and her weakness in defending the Austrian Netherlands against France, the authority of Austria in this part of her dominions had been seriously impaired.

(2) Maria Theresa refused to send troops to the Netherlands.

War between France and Great Britain had been going on for some years in India and North America, and war between the two countries seemed imminent in Europe. British interests demanded that France should not secure the Spanish Netherlands, and George II now requested Maria Theresa to send an Austrian force of 30,000 or 35,000 men, to co-operate in Flanders, to help him to hold the Netherlands and to divert an attack on Hanover which he knew France was preparing. Maria Theresa advised George to protect Hanover by making an agreement with Russia, and by a Russo-English treaty of September, 1758, the

Clementine Elizabeth agreed to send 30,000 men to protect Hanover, if necessary. George II now renewed his request for Austrian assistance in the Netherlands, but Maria Theresa definitely refused on the ground that if she sent forces to the Netherlands she would weaken her power of resisting Prussia.

D. Divergence of interests between Great Britain and Austria.

Thus the old Anglo-British alliance broke down owing to diversity of interest. Great Britain's main object was to oppose France, Austria's to oppose Prussia. "Nothing now remained for England but to appeal to Prussia."¹

II. Austria and France.

Opposition to the Habsburgs had been the keynote of French diplomacy since the outbreak of the Habsburg-Felipe struggle in 1665²; this policy had been confirmed by Henry IV, Richelieu, Mazarin and Louis XIV. It was now reversed, mainly owing to the initial diplomacy of Kaunitz.

A. Kaunitz, 1711-1734.

Anton Wenzel von Kaunitz, Frederick II's most dangerous opponent, had been educated for the Church, but adopted a diplomatic career. He had received an excellent education which he supplemented by foreign travel. His conduct was at times prodigal; he was a dandy and a man of the world. But he shares with Pitt the distinction of being the greatest statesman of his time; he was an acute observer of political conditions, full of resource, energetic but not rash; he was sincerely patriotic and used his "dexterous diplomacy, [which] was the result of cool and calculating reason,"³ for the benefit of Austria. Frederick II justly described him as "so frivolous in his tastes and so profound in business."

He had been Austrian ambassador at Rome, Tunis

¹ Lodge.

² Volume II, page 221.

³ Kaunitz.

and Brunswick, and Austrian representative at the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle. In 1749 he had become a member of the Council of the Empire, and from that time till his death in 1794 he influenced the policy of Austria.

B. Eustachius and France.

The policy of Eustachius.

In 1749 Eustachius submitted a most important memorandum on foreign policy to Maria Theresa.

a. Natural friends and enemies.

He admitted that the three natural enemies of Austria were France, Prussia and Turkey, of whom Prussia was much the most dangerous; her natural allies were Great Britain, whom Holland would follow, Russia and Saxony.

b. Russia.

Eustachius maintained that, in view of the hostile intentions of Frederick II, it was essential that Austria should regain Silesia immediately and so strengthen her frontier against Prussia. For this assistance was necessary, but of her allies Saxony was weak; Russia was friendly but unreliable, as her policy depended on the personal feelings of the ruling monarch; Great Britain was united by community of religion to Prussia, had compelled Maria Theresa to surrender Silesia and was more interested in colonial than European politics. Although George II as Elector of Hanover was well-disposed towards the Habsburgs, there was a strong feeling in England against using English men and money to support the interests of Hanover. The "conviction that the British alliance was useless against Prussia is the keystone of the policy of Eustachius."¹

¹ Lodge.

C. France.

Kaváň had attempted in 1748 to induce France to compel Frederick II to give up Silesia by offering her Boulogne and Flanders, but his offer had been rejected. He now denied that the interests of France and Austria were irreconcileable, and pointed out that both had suffered from the traditional hostility of the past.

A new confederacy, in which France should be the leading member, must be formed to overthrow the power of Prussia. As a result of its efforts Austria was to receive Silesia; Sweden, part of Pomerania; Saxony, Magdeburg; the Elector Palatine, Cleves and Jülich; and, if George II remained neutral, Hanover was to receive Bückeburg.

D. Criticism.

Kaváň wished to consolidate the German possessions of Austria, and for this object he was willing to sacrifice the Austrian Netherlands and the Illyrians. He desired to make Austria supreme in Germany and to attain this end by breaking the new power of Prussia which had acquired preponderance in the North.

The radical change he proposed was opposed by the Emperor Francis I, who favoured the continuance of the old British alliance, but warmly supported by Maria Theresa as the best means of securing the recovery of Silesia and of humiliating the hated Frederick II.

E. Kaváň in Paris.

1750-1753. Kaváň was ambassador at Paris and found that there was much irritation against Prussia. Louis XV, who professed his devotion to Roman Catholicism, objected to Frederick II as a freethinker. Madame de Pompadour and Louis XV were greatly offended by the personal criticism Frederick II passed upon them; Louis felt that Prussia was an obstacle to his desire to secure the throne of Poland for the Prince de Conti; jealousy was felt of the growing power of Prussia, which

had suspended France as the champion of the German Protestant states. But Louis refused to break the treaty he had made for fifteen years with Frederick in 1741, and Eugene returned to Vienna in 1752 without having accomplished his aim. But by securing the strong friendship of Madame de Pompadour he had done something to pave the way for his ultimate success.

[June, 1752. By the Treaty of Aranjuez, Austria and Spain made an alliance, which was soon joined by Naples and Sardinia, guaranteed each others' possessions and recognized the status quo in Italy.]

Reference:

A History of European Diplomacy (D. J. Hill).

FRENCH DIPLOMACY FROM 1748-1756

During this time Louis XV, no longer himself, was embarrassed by the strong restrictions imposed by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle; by growing financial difficulties, which Maupeou vain endeavoured to remedy in 1749; and by disputes with the Parliament,¹ which nearly led to civil war in Paris in 1754.

For the months after the death of Flottey in 1748 Louis had tried to be his own foreign minister, but his subservience to the influence of his ministers and mistresses and his natural indolence led to failure, and Anrasot became Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1748 and D'Argenson in November, 1754. But, in order to secure his own objects, Louis organized a secret diplomatic service of his own with its own heads, nicknamed *les voleurs de poche*; and the King's personal representatives often opposed the policy of the official ambassadors. French diplomacy, therefore, was marked by infidelity and treachery at a time of exceptional difficulty.

¹ Page 45.

I. France and Great Britain.

A. The Colonies.

Louis XV had hoped to appease Britain by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle. But the Peace had not settled the burning questions of naval supremacy and colonial expansion and rivalry in India; disputes as to the boundaries of the French colonies, and especially of Acadia, continued; for while the disputes between Britain and Spain were commercial, the rivalry between Britain and France was territorial, and growing antagonism led to fighting in the colonies.

(1) India.

Dupleix, who strongly resented the restoration of Madras to the British, now aimed at strengthening the influence of France by establishing as local ruler native princes who were subservient to French control.

1756. Dupleix helped Ghazi Saib to capture Arcot and to become Nizam of the Carnatic, and Mumtaz Jung to become Bahadur of the Deccan.

September, 1756. Robert Clive fought at Arcot and held it against Ghazi Saib. This was the turning-point of British power in India. Clive now followed the policy of Dupleix, made alliances with native princes and greatly improved the fighting power of native armies by appointing British officers.

1758. Dupleix was recalled, and his successor, Godcheret, gave up the French conquests to the British.

(2) America.

A joint commission appointed in 1760 to consider the boundaries in North America and the ownership of the West Indian islands failed to make a settlement.

The old cause of dispute¹ had been aggravated by the partition of Acadia. The French recognized that by the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle the British had obtained only the southern part of the peninsula, the

¹ Page 56

British claimed as part of Acadia country lying south of the St. Lawrence. The French stirred up the Acadians, who asserted their allegiance to Britain, and the Indians and the British colonists suffered from relentless border warfare, while many Americans were killed in an attempt to capture the new Fort St. Lawrence at the head of the Bay of Fundy.

1758. Duquesne was appointed Governor of Quebec. He determined to capture the English outposts on Lake Ontario and to seize the Ohio Valley by building Fort Duquesne¹ in 1754.

1754. Drift of the Virginia militia under George Washington at Great Meadows.

1755. Defeat and death of Braddock, who was advancing against Fort Duquesne; defeat of a French force under Despax, which was invading the Hudson Valley.²

B. Naval supremacy.

The problem of naval supremacy, always an important question between France and Britain owing to their position on the English Channel, became more important owing to the need of maintaining communications with the colonies.

1754-1760. D'Albignac made an attempt to reorganize the French navy, which Biron had neglected.

July, 1758. Duquesne, sent to intercept a French fleet taking reinforcements to Canada, captured the *Achille* and the *Lys* off Newfoundland. The British attacked French merchant ships and took three hundred by the end of 1758.

C. European problems.

(1) Louis XV wished to keep peace with Great Britain.

Louis XV refused to believe that the American

¹ Now forming the States of New Brunswick and part of Maine.

² Near Pittsburg.

France would lead to war with Great Britain; Madame de Pompadour feared that one entailing the King's absence would weaken her influence over him. Secret negotiations for peace were carried on with Britain at the end of 1755. But Boscawen's victory raised the French to fury and made imminent a war which had long been inevitable.

(2) Louis XV urged Frederick II to invade Hanover.

The French would certainly be defeated at sea and would try to secure Hanover in compensation for the loss of colonies. They relied on the co-operation of Prussia, and when Great Britain seemed likely to declare war on Prussia in 1753 Prussia promised to help her. In 1755 D'Argenson tried to induce Frederick II to invade Hanover, but he was unwilling to do this as he feared that, if he did, Austria, Russia and Saxony would attack him; he therefore refused D'Argenson's request and in July, 1755, urged the French to invade the Austrian Netherlands.

(3) The French do not renew the Treaty with Frederick II.

The treaty with Frederick expired in June, 1753, and Frederick in August, 1755, had asserted that his treaty with France "brought him to defend French territory in Europe, but not in America." Political conditions called for prompt action, but the French Government proved fickle and irresolute and took no effective steps to ensure the renewal of the treaty.

II. PRANCE AND POLAND.

Owing to the alliance concluded by Austria and Russia in 1748, Louis XV was anxious to strengthen French influence in Poland, which lay between Russia and Western Europe, and where it seemed likely that the question of the succession to Augustus III would soon arise. The Saxon party, which was friendly towards Russia, wished to make a Czarist king, but the national anti-Russian party favoured the Prince de

Cospi, a cousin of Louis XV. Louis XV strongly supported the candidature of Cospi and aimed at establishing a League of Poland, Sweden, Prussia and Turkey to check Austria and Russia. His policy seemed likely to prove successful.

1743-1756. The skilful diplomacy of De Alvear and Vergennes secured the alliance of Turkey.

1748. France joined Prussia in an alliance with Sweden.

1751. The accession of Augustus Frederick to the throne of Sweden strengthened French influence and the Russians evacuated Finland, which they had invaded in 1750.

1758-1763. De Broglie, ambassador to Poland, although not successful in securing the conversion of the Crown for Cospi, won over Augustus III to the French cause and secured the help of his Electorate of Saxony, which would prove a further barrier to a Russian advance.

Thus Louis XV had formed a League which seemed likely to check Russian invasions and to ensure attacks on Russia from Turkey by land and from Sweden by sea.

THE REVERSAL OF ALLIANCES

I. The Treaty of Westminster.

A. Practical Isolation of Great Britain and Prussia.

By the end of 1756 Britain was allied only with Russia, and Russia was more anxious to attack Prussia than to defend Hanover, while England regarded the defence of Hanover as the main object of the secret treaty. The alliance between Britain and Austria had come to an end, and Holland, in which the opponents of the House of Orange had gained supremacy, made a treaty with France. It was desirable to secure the co-operation of Prussia in the defense of Hanover.

Prussia found that France could not be relied upon to protect her, and the continuance of the French alliance

might lead to attacks from Great Britain through Hanover, from Austria and Russia. Frederick had learned of the Anglo-Russian treaty of September, 1763, and thought that the danger from Russia would be averted if he came to terms with her ally Britain.

January 16th, 1763. Great Britain and Prussia made the Treaty of Westminster.

i. Terms.

Both countries agreed to maintain the neutrality of Germany, in which the Austrian Netherlands were not included, and not to allow any foreign troops to enter the country. This involved the protection of Hanover by Frederick against a French attack, and of Prussia, including Silesia, against a Russian invasion.

ii. Results.

The object of the Treaty was to preserve peace. "In order to restrain French action against Hanover, George II had hoped to confront France with a League composed of Austria, Russia and Prussia."¹ It proved the immediate cause of the Seven Years' War.

(1) France.

France resented the defection of Frederick II and the secrecy of his proceedings and refused to accept his assurance that his friendly relations with her would remain unchanged.

(2) Austria.

Austria opposed a partition of Germany without reference to the Empire and was disappointed that the chance of an attack by Russia on her hated enemy was diminished. Maria Theresa said that the news of the Treaty had come on her "like a paralytic stroke."

(3) Russia.

Russia had regarded the Treaty of St. Petersburg

¹ De Ruy.

as a prelude to an invasion of Prussia and considered the new Treaty an act of treachery on the part of Britain.

The Treaty of Westphalia was the first act in the Revival of Alliances.

II. The First Treaty of Versailles, May, 1756.

Partly owing to fear that, in spite of the Treaty of Westphalia, Austria would be induced to renew her alliance with Great Britain, partly owing to the assurance of the Empress Elizabeth that she would send 50,000 men against Prussia, would ensure the return of Silesia to Austria and approve of an alliance between France and Austria, the two latter countries made the Treaty of Versailles on May 1st, 1756—the "Alliance des Trois Célestes."⁴

A. Terms.

The Treaty really consisted of three treaties—

(1) Neutralities.

Austria to remain neutral in between France and Great Britain; France not to attack the Netherlands or any Austrian territory.

(2) Defensive.

Each Power to protect the territory of the other in case of attack; but Austria was not to fight against Great Britain.

Thus France was bound to help Austria in case of a Prussian invasion, but was to receive no help from Austria if Great Britain attacked France.

(3) Secret articles.

Austria and France to help each other if attacked in Europe by an ally of Great Britain.

⁴ La. Elisabeth of Russia, Maria Theresa and Madame de Pompadour. The story that Maria Theresa, in order to win the help of Madame de Pompadour, addressed her in an autograph letter as "ma très amie" is however incorrect.

The Kings of Spain and Naples and the Duke of Parma to be invited to join the alliance.

B. Criticism.

(1) Defensive and preliminary.

The contrasting parties regarded the First Treaty of Versailles as a defensive alliance preliminary to a closer union which Kaunitz and Maria Theresa were determined—Louis XV and Madame de Pompadour were not unwilling—should be used to break the power of Prussia. But as yet there was considerable reluctance in France to go to war with Prussia, which was, at least theoretically, an ally until September, 1761, when the alliance formed in 1741 expired.

(2) The Treaty was a complete reversal of the traditional policy of France involving alliance with Austria, her long-standing enemy.

[May 18th, 1761. Great Britain declared war on France.]

August 26th, 1761. Frederick II resolved to anticipate his enemies and invaded Saxony. [Beginning of the Seven Years' War.]

III. Russia Joins France and Austria.

Kaunitz wished Russia to join France and Austria. But, although the Empress Elisabeth was bitterly hostile to Frederick II, the recent attempt of Louis XV to intervene in Poland and to stir up Turkey and Sweden against Russia hampered negotiations. But the invasion of Saxony altered conditions.

January, 1762. Russia accepted the First Treaty of Versailles.

Potsdam, 1767. By a new treaty between Russia and Austria each party undertook to send a force of 50,000 men against Prussia; Silesia and Oliva were to be restored to Austria; the power of Prussia was to be broken. By a secret treaty France undertook to help Russia if attacked by Turkey.

IV. Sweden.

March 2nd, 1757. By the Treaty of Stockholm, Sweden, in the hope of saving Pomerania, joined the Coalition of Austria and France.

V. The Second Treaty of Versailles, May, 1757.

The fact that the Dauphin had married a daughter of the Elector of Saxony added to the indignation which Frederick II's invasion of Saxony had caused in Paris, where "la cause de la Dauphine" had become the ruling passion of the day.¹¹

But difficulties arose which delayed the conclusion of joint action by Austria and France against Prussia. The main objects of the two powers were divergent: Austria was most anxious to curb Prussia; France to weaken Great Britain. A Russian attack on Prussia involved a Russian march through Poland in which Louis XV wished to establish French and not Bourbon influence. Austria objected to the demand of the French for Ostend and Newport and to the proposed invasion of Hanover by the French, which might prevent them from joining a united attack on Prussia. After considerable difficulty, on May 1st, 1757, Austria and France made the Second Treaty of Versailles, by which it was agreed—

- (1) That France should supply 100,000 French troops and pay Austria an annual subsidy of twelve million francs.
- (2) That Prussia should be dismembered by the return of Silesia and Glatz to Austria, the cession of Magdeburg to Saxony, of Pomerania to Sweden, of Cleves to the Elector Palatine, of Gueldersland to Holland.
- (3) That Austria should give to Don Philip in exchange for Pomerania Austria-Netherlands except Ostend,

¹¹ De Rill.

Nispart and Tyre, which were to be given to France. Thus the Reversal of Alliances was complete. "The Empress abandoned Great Britain and Holland to the resentment of France, and the Court of Versailles sacrificed Prussia to the ambition of the Emperor."

VI. General.

The Reversal of Alliances was "the most profound, and by its consequences the most grave, of the diplomatic revolutions of the eighteenth century."¹ In two years it overthrew the political equilibrium of Europe.

A. France.

(1) Change of policy.

France completely reversed her traditional policy by making an alliance with Austria and breaking her friendship with the German Protestant. This involved a breach with her recent ally Prussia. The alliance with Austria was largely responsible for the convention with Russia and thus involved the sacrifice of Louis XV's plan with regard to Poland, the weakening of the connection between France and Turkey and the withdrawal of the support hitherto given to Sweden against Russia. French intervention in Italy was checked, and the new dynasties came under Austrian influence.

(2) Criticism.

The Reversal of Alliances was due largely to a desire to take vengeance on Frederick II for deserting France and supporting Great Britain, and perhaps to an undoubted fear that Prussia, Austria and Russia would combine against France.²

The ineffective diplomacy of Louis XV lowered the prestige of France, which "became the catapaw of Russia and Austria."³ By the treaties she had made

¹ Quoted by Dr. Hill. ² Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, page 191.

³ Russell.

France, even if Prussia were beaten, would gain no territorial compensation for the heavy sacrifices she would have to make except a few towns in the Netherlands, the greater portion of which would go to Don Philip.

In view of the struggle for the colonies, in which Austria could render her no assistance, France ought to have kept clear of the war in Europe in order to use all her forces against Great Britain, whose navy made her a most dangerous opponent. By intervening in Europe, France was playing the game of Great Britain and Austria. In the hope of gaining part of the Austrian Netherlands and of seizing Hanover, France allowed herself "to be dragged into a struggle for the annihilation of Prussia for the benefit of Austria, and plunged into the continental war without receiving any real prey from the unfortunate Habsburg government."¹ She thus "committed an act of madness, of imbecile treason against herself, the like of which hardly exists in history."²

B. Not a Catholic alliance.

Frederick II, a freethinker, pretended that he was upholding the Protestant cause against Catholic nations. Maria Theresa was a devout Catholic; Louis XV loudly proclaimed Catholicism; but an alliance which included Russia and Sweden could not be called Catholic. The Seven Years' War was political and commercial and no more religious than the War of the Spanish Succession.

C. Great Britain.

The alliance between Prussia and Great Britain stirred both parties. The war in the colonies diverted French forces which might have served against Frederick; Frederick prevented the French from concentrating their forces against Great Britain and made Hanover safer.

¹ Kossak.

² Martin, *Histoire de France*.

The restrictions placed by Great Britain on commerce with France greatly weakened the alliance between the former and Holland owing to the severity of Dutch penalties; it led in July, 1756, to a maritime union between Sweden and Denmark to maintain the freedom of the seas against the English fleet.

References:

- The Balance of Power* (Hassall), Rivingtons, chap. viii.
- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, chap. II.
- A History of European Diplomacy* (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. III, chap. vi, Section III.
- Maria Theresa* (Bright), Macmillan, chapters v and vi.

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

The military operations of the war and divergence of interest between France, Austria and Russia¹ led to much diplomacy while the war was going on.

I. France.

D'Argenson, who wished to use all the forces of France in the colonial war and objected to French operations in Germany, had been deprived of office in 1757 owing to the influence of Madame de Pompadour. Biron, who had taken an active part in concluding the First Treaty of Versailles, was compelled by Louis XV to resign in October, 1758, because he advocated the conclusion of peace owing to the serious losses of France in America, to her obvious difficulties and the proved incapacity of her Government.

Choiseul, the French ambassador, who had arranged at Vienna the marriage of Louis (XVI) and Marie

¹ See page 128.

Ambelin, succeeded Berthier as Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1786 and became Minister of War and Marine in 1788.

4. Great Britain.

Chesnol considered that Great Britain was the only dangerous enemy of France and endeavoured to leave France free to oppose her.

(I) New treaty with Austria.

December 1788.¹ Chesnol, who realised that the Second Treaty of Vérone was unfavourable to France, made a new treaty with Austria by which the cession of the Austrian Netherlands to Don Philip and the consequent restoration of Flanders, Picardy and Charleroi to Austria² were cancelled; the definite obligation of France to help Austria to recover Silesia and Glatz was replaced by an engagement of France to maintain one hundred thousand troops on the Rhine. Chesnol's object was to limit French operations in Germany and to release mass French troops for service against Great Britain. The new arrangements proved ruinous to France and of little value to Austria. It assisted Frederick II by limiting French intervention in Germany.

(II) Peace negotiations.

Pitt had refused the offer of Don Carlos of Naples to mediate between France and Great Britain.

In 1790 Chesnol came to the conclusion that the complete defeat of Prussia by Austria might lead to a renewal of the old alliance between Great Britain and Austria and to the dangerous predominance of Austria in Central Europe. Believing that "the King of Prussia is sufficiently abased," he now endeavoured to secure peace with Great Britain, in which country there was a strong demand for peace, in the hope that the Union of Great Britain, France and Spain might

¹ The Treaty was signed in March, 1788.

² Page 122.

compel Austria and Prussia to come to terms. But his design failed in 1759 because Great Britain refused to make peace without Prussia, and a proposal of Great Britain and Prussia for a peace congress was not accepted because it did not include Poland, Saxony and Sweden.

B. Sweden.

1757. At the instigation of France, and in the hope of securing all her old possessions in Pomerania, Sweden declared war on Prussia and undertook to supply 31,000 men in addition to her garrison in Stralsund. France promised to pay subsidies to meet the cost of the new army.

II. Great Britain and Prussia.

April 29th, 1758. By the Treaty of London, Great Britain undertook to provide 55,000 men to help Frederick II and to pay him a subsidy of £900,000. Pitt had previously objected to any grant to Frederick for the defence of Hanover. He now completely changed his policy because he wished to keep the French engaged on the Continent and thus to conquer America in Europe.

III. Russia.

A. Russia, Sweden and Denmark.

1759. Russia and Sweden agreed to exclude all foreign vessels from the Baltic. Denmark acceded to the Treaty in 1760.

B. Russia and the Ukraine.

The Empress Elizabeth was determined to secure East Prussia, which was to be ceded to Poland in exchange for the Ukraine. This would probably lead to war between Russia and Turkey.

(1) Austria agrees.

April 1st, 1760. Austria, with reluctance, agreed to support Elizabeth's design.

(2) Louis XV's secret diplomacy.

Owing to the desperate condition of France, Choiseul was willing to accept Elizabeth's offer to mediate between France and Great Britain on condition that France agreed to her designs on the Ukraine.

But Louis XV, now unwilling that Prussia should be destroyed, fearing the growth of Russian power on the Baltic or at the expense of Turkey, fearing also the predominance of Austria, determined to "protect the liberties of the Republic of Poland" and endeavoured, by secret diplomacy, to secure the election of the Dauphin's brother-in-law, Xavier of Saxony, as successor to his father Augustus III, and to banish the Russian troops which were operating against Prussia.

(3) Treaty between Russia and Prussia.

The resignation of Pitt in October, 1761, and the successors of the Russians, who sold Silesia and Gleiwitz, made Frederick's situation appear desperate. He had tried in vain to improve it by begged the Turks and Tartars to come to his aid.

January 8th, 1762. The Empress Elizabeth, who hated Frederick and said she would destroy the "disturber of the peace of Europe," died at St. Petersburg. Her nephew Peter III, a great admirer of Frederick, at once stopped hostilities against Prussia and, on May 8th, 1762, concluded with him an offensive and defensive alliance which gave him the use of the Russian army.

[May 22nd, 1762. Sweden makes peace with Prussia and withdraws from the war.]

After the murder of Peter III in July, his wife Catherine II maintained the peace with Frederick II, although she withdrew the Russian troops from his service.

Fredrick II's position had been completely changed, and he was free to attack the Austrians.

IV. Spain.

A. Ferdinand VI.

During the reign of Ferdinand VI (1746-1759) the closer union of France and Spain which had resulted from the Family Compact of 1733 had been weakened and France received no help from Spain in the beginning of the war. Owing to the melancholia from which Ferdinand VI suffered at the end of his life the Government was directed by Richard Wall, an Irishman who maintained a friendly attitude towards Great Britain.

B. Charles III.

(1) Mediation.

Frederick VI died in August, 1759, and was succeeded by Don Carlos of Spain, who, like the Dauphin, had married a daughter of Augustus III of Saxony, and resented the war in which Great Britain had treated Naples in the War of the Austrian Succession. But as a Bourbon and a hereditary enemy of the Bourbons he strongly objected to the alliance between France and Austria. His Queen, Maria Amalia, favoured England, and Charles III, although friendly to France, did not wish to excite the hostility of Great Britain at the beginning of his reign, when the task of ending the anarchy which had marked the last years of his predecessor would require all his efforts. He therefore offered his services as a mediator between Great Britain and France, but Pitt refused to accept his offer.

(2) The Family Compact.**a. Causes of complaint.**

Although Wall maintained a friendly attitude towards Great Britain serious difficulties had arisen before 1768. Pitt was determined to gain French concurrence and showed little regard for the rights of neutrals; Spanish ships suspected of trading with France were detained in British ports, and Wall had protested in vain. Further grievances, of which Charles III complained, were the exclusion of Spanish colonists from the Newfoundland fisheries and the establishment of British settlements to cut logwood in Honduras. All attempts to settle these differences failed, and Charles III's actions to regain Gibraltar and to exclude Great Britain from the trade with Central America joined France against Britain.

b. The Treaty of St. Ildefonso.

August, 1761. The Treaty of St. Ildefonso established over the Family Compact, by which every enemy of either branch of the House of Bourbon became the "common enemy of both"; France and Spain undertook to act "as if they formed one single power"; the subjects of one nation were to enjoy the rights of natives in the territory of the other. Charles III undertook to declare war on Great Britain on May 1st, 1762; France promised to give Minorca to Spain; both kingdoms determined to compel Portugal to join them against Great Britain.

The Treaty was a triumph for Chastellux, who, unlike his predecessor, realised the importance of the colonial and maritime struggle and attempted to reverse the policy of Bouillé, who had neglected the best interests of France for

DIPLOMACY OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR 121

the sake of extending her influence in Europe. Although the Family Compact proved of little use in the Seven Years' War owing to the utter weakness of Prussia and the inability of Spain to make adequate preparations, it played an important part in the war between Great Britain and the American colonies.

October 2d, 1761. Rediggestion of Pitt, who suggested that France and Spain had made an alliance, because the Cabinet refused to declare war on Spain.

January 2d, 1762. Great Britain declared war on Spain.

References:

- A History of European Diplomacy* (D. J. Hill), Longmans, Vol. III, chap. vii, Section II.

THE OUTBREAK OF THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR

I. Discrepant Aims of the Contingents.

The nations of Europe engaged in the Seven Years' War with different motives.

A. Austria and Russia.

Maria Theresa and Elizabeth of Russia were inspired with strong personal hatred of Frederick II; the former was determined to reverse the restoration of Silesia and Galicia, the latter hoped to conquer East Prussia and exchange it for the Ukraine; both wished to reduce Prussia to the position of a minor German state.

But Peter, the heir to the Russian throne, was a great admirer of Frederick II, and the lack of energy so often displayed by Russian generals in the war may have been partly due to recognition of this fact. Neither Russia nor Austria was at war with Great Britain, and Bironoff, until his fall in February, 1758, tried to support the British interests at St. Petersburg in return for heavy bribes.

B. France.

France, in which there was always some sympathy with Frederick II, would gain little advantage from the dismemberment of Prussia. The ruin of Prussia would lead to the increase in the power of Russia on the Baltic and of Austria in Central Europe, and both of these results would be contrary to the interests of France. Great Britain, not Prussia, was the great enemy of France, and the main object of France was to attack Hanover in the hope that the dominion of Hanover would engage British forces which otherwise might be used in

the colonial war, and that, if France conquered Hanover, she might exact compensation in the colonies for its restoration to George II.

France strongly supported the preservation of the independence of Poland, which Russia and Austria were anxious to destroy; and Elizabeth of Russia was on such bad terms with Louis XV that she kept him waiting two years for an answer to a personal letter.

C. Great Britain.

The main object of George II in Europe was the preservation of Hanover, and the Treaty of Westminster, January, 1759, was made for this purpose. Frederick II hoped that the influence of his new ally would avert the danger of an attack from Russia on his eastern frontier. Pitt from 1758 realized the possibility of conquering America in Europe, and the strong help he gave to Frederick II compelled the French to employ in the European War large forces which might have been used in the colonies.

D. Spain.

Spain had no interest in the European War and made an alliance with France to protect her colonies in Central America from Great Britain.

Though the coalition against Frederick II lacked cohesion, United action against Prussia in 1759 would probably have led to the overthrow of the kingdom; the lack of common interests and a single aim which weakened the coalition was an important factor in Frederick's successful effort to preserve Prussia.

E. Frederick II Invades Saxony.

August 29th, 1759. Frederick II invaded Saxony and the Seven Years' War began. "The Seven Years' War, so far as the participation of Europe was concerned, was,

in the final analysis, a reparation of Frederick II's conquest of Silesia and invasion of Saxony."¹

A. Criticism.

Some authorities hold that Frederick, knowing the hostility of Austria and Russia towards Prussia, and believing that "it is better to anticipate than to be anticipated," determined to defend himself by marching through Saxony and attacking Austria in Bohemia. His invasion of Saxony was therefore defensive, to protect his rear and to strengthen his forces with Saxon troops. Others hold that his invasion was intended to lead to further conquests and was purely aggressive. There is no doubt that the invasion of a country with which he was at peace—for Saxony was not a partner in the prospective coalition against Prussia—shocked Europe and was some justification for the First Treaty of Versailles.²

B. Events in Saxony.

Frederick thought that Augustus III, whose army numbered only 17,000 men, would not resist him. But Augustus took up a strong position at Pissa, near Dresden, where he held out for a month. The Austrians had hoped that Augustus would retire into Bohemia and co-operate with Brunswick against the Prussians; they therefore delayed sending help into Saxony. Brunswick, who attempted to relieve Pissa, was checked by Frederick at Lobositz on October 11th, 1756, and returned to Bohemia.

October 19th, 1756. Pissa capitulated to Frederick II. Augustus fled to Warsaw; the Saxon soldiers were compelled to join Frederick, the officers were released on parole and Frederick found in the archives at Dresden proof of the hostile intentions of Russia and Austria.

Frederick was master of Saxony, but the resistance of

¹ Dr. H. H.

² Page 116.

Angebras had saved Austria. It had given the Austrians time to make preparations and compelled Frederick to postpone the invasion of Bohemia.

C. The Empire declared war.

January 17th, 1757. The Diet of the Empire declared war on Frederick II and decreed an armed levy and a war contribution to restore Angebras to Saxony. But the Diet had little power; the Protestant states protested against its action.

(January 1st, 1757. Russia accepted the Treaty of Turville,¹ and in February, 1757, made a new treaty with Austria against Prussia.²

May 1st, 1757. The Second Treaty of Varsailles.³)

THE WAR IN EUROPE FROM 1757-1760

I. The Campaign of 1757.

The Coalition determined on a united attack on Prussia by Austria through Bohemia, Russia from the East, Sweden from the North, France through Westphalia and the Imperial army from the South; it was hoped that such concerted action would compel Frederick to evacuate Silesia and Olsta. Frederick resolved no further aggression as the best means of defence and invaded Bohemia in April, 1757.

A. Bohemia.

May 6th, 1757. Frederick routed Prince Charles of Lorraine and Beuron at Prague; death of Beuron and Bohemia. Frederick besieged Prague, into which the Austrians had retreated.

June 19th, 1757. The Austrians under Daun, coming to raise the siege, routed Frederick at Kolin, compelled him to raise the siege of Prague, and retire from Bohemia into Silesia. Daun's successive victories made him neglect

¹ Page 117.

² Page 117.

³ Page 118.

his opportunity of completing the destruction of the Prussian army and conquering Prussia.

(i) Hanover.

A French army under D'Estrées invaded Hanover intending to attack Prussia from the West.

July 26th, 1757. D'Estrées routed at Hohenbeck a Hanoverian army, strengthened by German mercenaries, under Cumberland.

September 6th, 1757. By the Convention of Kloster-Greven, Cumberland agreed to disband his army and to allow the French to keep during the war Bremen and Verden, which would enable them to invade Prussia through Magdeburg. Bremen and Hanover were now at the mercy of the French.

But Richelieu, who now commanded the French, instead of pushing on towards Brandenburg, allowed his troops to pillage and took to cash, plaster himself that he was nicknamed "Prix-la-Monnaie."

(C) The Invasion of Prussia.

(1) The Russians.

The Russians under Apraxin entered Prussia, took Kœnigsberg on August 20th, 1757, routed Lewald at Gross-Sagardt.

(2) The Swedes.

September, 1757. The Swedes, operating from Stockholm, invaded Pomerania.

(3) The French.

The French under Boufflers joined the Imperial army in Thuringia and prepared to advance on Prussia. But the Imperial army was insufficient, many of its Protestant soldiers deserted and changes between the French and Germans weakened their cause.

(4) The Austrians.

The Austrians under Hadik had regained most of Silesia and entered Berlin on October 16th.

D. Frederick saved Prussia.

(1) Rossbach, 1757.

November 5th, 1757. Frederick routed the Prussian-Imperial army at Rossbach; the Imperial army was destroyed; the French evacuated Germany.

This victory "severed the triumph of the North Germans . . . it was the discontinuance of the patriotic party in France,"¹ overthrew the admiration for the French that had long been felt in Germany and was said by Napoleon to be the cause of the downfall of the Bourbons in 1789.

(2) Leuthen, 1757.

December 5th, 1757. Frederick, after a very rapid march from Rossbach, routed the Austrians under Charles of Lorraine and Duke of Lorraine and recovered all Silesia except Schleswig.

Rossbach and Leuthen were the greatest of Frederick's victories.

(3) The Russians withdrew.

The Empress Elizabeth was now very ill; Apesko, knowing that Peter (III), the heir to the Russian throne, was a warm admirer of Frederick II, instead of completing the conquest of Prussia retired into winter quarters in Poland.

(4) The Swedes defeated.

Owing to the retreat of the Russians, Lehwald drove the Swedes out of Pomerania.

(5) William Pitt.

Largely owing to William Pitt, the Convention of Kloster-Zeven, which had caused great indignation in England, was repudiated; promises of aid in men and money were made to Frederick II,² who accepted Ferdinand of Brunswick as general of the reorganized Huguenot army.

¹ Mackay.

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I. The Campaign of 1758.

A. Frederick II invades Moravia.

Frederick took Schweidnitz on April 16th, 1758, invaded Moravia and besieged Olmutz. But London cut off the resources of Frederick, who, knowing the Russians were threatening Brandenburg, raised the siege and by a masterly retreat relieved successfully late Silesia.

B. The Russians invade Prussia.

The Empress Elizabeth recovered from her illness and, partly owing to a report from Austria for more active operations against Prussia, replaced Apraxin by Ferman, who invaded East Prussia. In February, Bestushev, who was friendly to Britain, was superseded by Wurtsacoff, a friend of Austria; the Grand Duke Peter and his wife Catherine fell into disgrace; Austria and Russia made a new alliance against Prussia.

January, 1758. Ferman took Euligberg, crossed East Prussia and on August 12th laid siege to Clinton. His advance was a serious threat to Brandenburg.

August 28th, 1758. Frederick II, coming to relieve Clinton, fought the Russians at Zorndorf, where Zoldan and the Prussian cavalry distinguished themselves. The battle was indecisive, but Ferman withdrew into Poland. Brandenburg was saved; the actions of the Swedes, who looked to the Russians to help them in Pomerania, proved unsuccessful.

C. The Austrians invade Saxony and Silesia.

The Austrians under Daun and the Imperialists under the Duke of Zweibrücken now attacked Prince Henry of Prussia in Saxony in the hope of recapturing Dresden. A second Austrian army under Harsch invaded Silesia and besieged Neisse.

Frederick, after a very rapid march, joined Prince Henry, but tired of Daun's cautious tactics and anxious to seize Silesia, accepted battle in an unfavorable

position at Hochkirch on October 14th, 1758. Dux defeated Frederick, who lost his baggage and artillery.

Dux, with his usual sluggishness, failed to follow up his victory; Frederick rapidly reformed his army, marched round Dux's army into Silesia and compelled Ulrich to withdraw from Neisse.

Zwierlitz was now threatening Leipzig and Dux Dresden. By another rapid march Frederick again crossed Saxony; Dux evacuated Saxony and retired into Bohemia for the winter.

D. Ferdinand of Brunswick and the French.

(1) The French cross the Rhine.

After their success at Blaueck the French occupied a strong position extending from Braunschweig to Brunswick and threatened Northern Germany. But their forces, which numbered 80,000 men, were disorganized, undisciplined and surrounded with an enormous number of non-combatants; Clermont, their new general, was incompetent.

Ferdinand reassembled the Hanoverian army, which had retained its arms, and by brilliant manoeuvring drove Westphalia, Hanover, Brunswick and Lower Saxony of the French; captured Minden on March 14th, 1759; drove the French over the Rhine at Emmerich on March 29th; routed Clermont at Oerfeld on June 2nd; 4000 British troops joined Ferdinand in August.

(2) The French recover some ground.

Ferdinand now wished to invade the Austrian Netherlands, but the French under Soult invaded Hesse and took Cassel, while a force under De Brugge gained a small victory at Bonderhausen on July 2nd. A division of Ferdinand's army was defeated by Charvet at Lutzenberg on October 10th, 1759. Ferdinand wintered in Westphalia, and the French near Frankfurt.

I. General.

By the end of 1758, in spite of heavy fighting, no permanent advantage had been gained by either side. "Our campaign is ended," said Frederick, "and neither side has gained anything except the loss of many brave soldiers."

The Russians had overrun East Prussia, the French held Hanover, but Frederick retained Saxony and Ferdinand Württemberg; and the British had gained substantial successes in the colonial war.¹ Frederick had saved Prussia, partly owing to his brilliant leadership and the bravery of his soldiers; partly owing to the failure of Dantz and Aegaeus to follow up the advantage they had gained; partly because Ferdinand of Brunswick had kept France fully engaged, and partly because Pitt's subsidies, amounting to nearly £2,000,000 for the year, had replenished his empty treasury.

France had suffered most; her finances were in a hopeless condition and her colonial trade ruined. Berquin therefore strongly advocated peace, but was deprived of office and succeeded in November, 1758, by Choiseul.

II. The Campaign of 1759.

Choiseul resolved to concentrate his forces against Great Britain, leaving the Russians and Austrians to deal with Prussia; he hoped to conquer Hanover from the West. Choiseul wrote to Kaunitz in January, 1759: "As to peace with Britain, the King thinks that it is by pursuing the war against that power that we shall extirpate the King of Prussia. We shall support that opinion at the risk of losing our colonies."

Frederick II had lost most of his veteran soldiers who had been replaced by less efficient recruits; he found himself in financial difficulties, in spite of British subsidies, and attempted to improve his position by debasing the coinage. Contrary to his usual tactics, his

¹ Page 146-7.

operations in 1759 were mainly defensive, as he lacked the means necessary for offensive action. Russia, now definitely aiming at the conquest of East Prussia, and Austria, still determined to regain Silesia and Galicia, proposed again to attack Prussia.

A. Minden.

Ferdinand of Brunswick, trying to stop the French from attacking Hanover, attacked them in Hesse, but was defeated at Bergen by Broglie and driven back into Westphalia. The French took Minden and Münster.

August 1st, 1759. Ferdinand routed the combined armies of Broglie and Conde at Minden, where the six "Minden regiments" broke sixty-three squadrons of cavalry which formed the French center. The French escaped annihilated only because Lord George Sackville refused to order the cavalry to charge. This victory saved Hanover, led to the retreat of the French from Hesse and secured Frederick's western flank.

B. Kesseldorf, August, 1759.

Sukyevitch, the new Russian general, advanced against Prussia through Poland, defeated the Prussian general Wedell at Zallitsch on July 22nd, 1759, and joined Frankfurt-on-the-Oder. A reinforcement of 30,000 Austrians brought his numbers up to 80,000, and in openly openly Frederick's main army of 60,000 men at Kesseldorf on August 15th, 1759, largely owing to Lacy's skilful handling of the Austrian cavalry. Sukyevitch, believing that Austria was not taking a fair share in the war, and realising that Peter, the heir to the Russian throne, who had regained the position he had recently lost, would resent the overthrow of Frederick II, did not advance, and Prussia thus escaped certain defeat. The Russians retired into Poland.

C. Saxe.

The Imperial forces under the Duke of Soubise, encouraged by the victory of Kesseldorf, invaded

Saxony and, in August, 1759, took Leipzig, Torgau and Wittenberg. The Austrians, under Daun, took Dresden on September 14th, 1759. But Frederick, taking advantage of the retreat of the Russians, regained Saxony, except Dresden, which Daun defended. Frederick sent an army of 12,000 men under Friederici to cut off the Austrian communications with Bohemia, but Daun compelled Friederici to capitulate, with all his forces at Magdeburg on November 1st, and the Austrians retained Dresden.

D. General.

Chokroum's designs against England proved unavenging; France had suffered disaster on land and sea and in the colonies. The phase of campaign made in Madame de Pompadour's bosom had utterly failed; the prestige of the nobles was ruined by the revelation of their vice, folly and what Napoleon called "their most perfect impudence." The year 1760 was one of the most, perhaps the most, disastrous in French history.

But Prussia was in a desperate state. Only the withdrawal of the Russians had saved her from conquest; Frederick, in despair, was with difficulty dissuaded from committing suicide after Kunersdorf, and the capitulation of Friederici was a terrible blow.

IV. The Campaign of 1760.

The year 1760 was the last great year of the war.

A. Silesia.

(1) Lachlau, June.

The Austrians under Laudon invaded Silesia and defeated the Prussian general Fouquet at Lachlau on June 22nd, 1760.

(2) Liegnitz, August.

Daun, who had resisted an attempt of Frederick to take Dresden, invaded Silesia to support Laudon, while a Russian army under Chernatshoff advanced

Silesia from Poland. Frederick II, anxious to prevent the union of the three armies, took advantage of Dessa's absence and routed Leopold at Liegnitz on August 15th. The Russians and Austrians marched into Brandenburg and entered Berlin on October 9th, but retired on Frederick's return from Silesia.

B. Saxony.

The Austrians, taking advantage of the Silesian campaign, captured Torgau and marched east of Saxony. Frederick routed Dessa at Torgau on November 2d, largely owing to the bravery of Zieten who commanded the Prussian cavalry, and secured most of Saxony, although the Austrians still held Dresden.

C. Western Germany.

Bogisic defeated Ferdinand's nephew, the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, at Corbach on July 10th. The Prince, by Ferdinand's orders, made a diversion at the Lower Rhine, but was defeated at Kloster Kamp by Castries on October 10th, 1760, and driven across the Rhine.

A victory gained by Ferdinand at Warburg, due largely to the British cavalry, prevented the further progress of the French and saved Westphalia and Hanover.

THE LAST YEARS OF THE WAR IN EUROPE

I. 1762.

By this time the Powers were exhausted, and the campaigns of the last years of the Seven Years' War are of comparatively little importance.

A. Eastern Germany.

(1) Silesia.

Differences between the Russian general, who retired to Poland, and Leopold helped Frederick; but on

September 30th London captured Salzwedel⁷ and strengthened the Austrian hold on Silesia and Galicia.

(3) Saxony.

Prince Henry of Prussia maintained his position against Brunswick in Saxony.

(4) Pomerania.

The Russians invaded Eastern Pomerania and, in conjunction with the Swedes, took Kelling on December 1st, 1761.

B. Western Germany.

February, 1761. Ferdinand of Brunswick invaded Hanover, but was defeated by Bruegel near Osterberg on March 21st and compelled to retire from Hanover.

July 15th, 1761. Ferdinand defeated at Villinghausen Bruegel and Soubise, who were attempting to invade Westphalia and Hesse.

I. 1762.

Although Prussia remained unconquered at the end of 1761 her position seemed desperate. Pitt had resigned on October 5th, 1761, and Bute refused to renew the subsidy to Frederick, whose financial position was hopeless. Frederick could muster only about fifty thousand men to resist a hundred and thirty thousand Austrians and Russians; the Empress Elizabeth was determined to conquer East Prussia and make Frederick.

The death of the Empress Elizabeth on January 6th, 1762, and the peace signed between Frederick and Peter III on May 5th, 1762, and between Frederick and Sweden on May 22nd, not only saved Prussia, but by securing for her the support of the Russian armies gave her a great advantage over Austria, which, as France was unable to help, was now isolated.

A. The Defeat of the Austrians.

July 21st, 1747. Frederick routed the Austrians at Bückeburg.

October 9th, 1747. Frederick conquered Schweidnitz and Silesia.

October 29th, 1747. Prince Henry routed the Austrians at Friedberg.

B. Portugal.

1750. Joseph I of Portugal refused the demand of Charles III of Spain and Louis XV that he should join them against Britain. The Spaniards and French invaded Portugal, but the Portuguese resisted them successfully owing to the help of a British army under Lord Tyrawley.

References:

The Balance of Power (Hassall), Rivingtons, chap. ix.

History of France (Kitchin), Vol. III, Book VI, chap. v.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. IX.

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COLONIAL AND MARITIME WAR

Both France and Great Britain regarded the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle only as a temporary truce; no serious effort was made to adjust differences in India and America; colonial differences led to war in 1754. The struggle for the colonies was of supreme importance to both countries, but both made the mistake of intervening in the war in Europe, partly because of Louis XV's futile diplomacy, partly because of George II's interest in Hanover. Charles recognises the importance of the colonial struggle, but was unable to avoid the continuation of extensive French operations in Europe. The ultimate success of Great Britain was due

largely to Pitt's policy of substituting Frederick II to fight the French in Europe and using the main forces of Great Britain in naval warfare and in the colonies.

The British navy had had valuable experience in the War of the Austrian Succession, but Newcastle had refused to make preparations for war, strong resentment was caused by passenger and the sea services had become slack. Pitt inspired the navy with his own spirit, and its great victories were due largely to his influence. Chatham's effort to strengthen the French navy, which had been neglected by Flavory, came too late.

I. America.¹

The claims of the contending parties in America were irreconcileable : the French asserted that the possession of a river mouth gave a right to the river basin ; the British maintained that possession of the coast constituted a valid title to the hinterland without limitation of depth.

The French built a line of forts to prevent the English from extending over the prairie to the west of the Alleghany Mountains, and these were the scenes of important operations. Both sides used Indians, and the war was marked by gross cruelty to the conquered.

A. The outbreak of war.

Both countries claimed the Ohio basin, the British as Hinterland, the French as a portion of the Mississippi river system and as a part of Louisiana.

April, 1754. Defeat of a weak Virginian force under George Washington by Duquesne at Fort Ohio. The final struggle between France and Britain on the continent of America had begun, although in Europe the two great allies were at peace.

B. The campaign of 1755.

A long-drawn attack was planned by the British against Acadia, Crown Point, Niagara and Fort Duquesne.

¹ See also page 84.

July 9th, 1758. Braddock was defeated and slain on the Monongahela, near Fort Duquesne.

June, 1758. Capture of Louisburg by Shirley; expulsion of six thousand Indians who sympathised with the French.

Johnson failed to capture Crown Point, but strengthened the position of the English by building Fort William Henry; Shirley found it impossible to carry out his proposed attack on Niagara.

C. French successes in 1758 and 1759.

1758. A British attack on Niagara failed; Montcalm captured Oswego and built Fort Ticonderoga.

1759. Failure of a British attack on Louisbourg in Cape Breton; Montcalm took the British outpost at Fort William Henry.

D. The conquest of Canada.

(1) The capture of the posts, 1758.

Mainly owing to the vigorous policy of William Pitt, who took office in June, 1757, the colonial war received proper support. A repetition of the foiled attack of 1755 met with success in 1758. Duquesne and Lévis were captured in July, but Lord Howe fell in an unsuccessful attempt to take Ticonderoga in July; in September the capture of Frontenac and Oswego cut the communication between Louisiana and Canada.

(2) Quebec, 1759.

The capture of Fort Niagara in July and the occupation of Ticonderoga and Chambly in August opened the way for an attack on Canada from the South. But before it could be made Wolfe, with a force which the British fleet had safely convoyed, entered the St. Lawrence, which Lévis had no longer guarded, and scaled the Heights of Abraham on September 13th; Quebec surrendered on September 18th, 1759. Both

THE COLONIAL AND MARITIME WAR 167

Wolfe and Montcalm were killed. The British kept Quebec, partly because their supremacy at sea prevented the French from sending reinforcements.

II. India.¹

A. Dupleix.

By 1756 the English realised that they could check the aims of Dupleix only by alliance with native princes. The Governor of Madras therefore supported Mohammed Ali against Chandu Sahib in the Carnatic.

1751. Robert Clive took Arcot, Chandu Sahib's capital, and skilfully defended it against vastly superior forces.

1754. Dupleix was recalled. His well-conceived policy had failed, partly because the maritime supremacy of Britain prevented him from getting adequate help from France; partly because of the cost of his operations and the financial difficulties of the French East India Company, which ran £30,000 in debt; partly because France was anxious to maintain peace with Great Britain.

B. Bengal.

June, 1756. Surajah Dowlah, the Nawab of Bengal, took Calcutta and impaled 146 British subjects in the Black Hole.

1757. Clive, who had returned from England, determined that "so long as there was one Frenchman in arms in the Deccan, or in India, there could be no peace," took Chandernagore in March, 1757, and secretly posted Surajah Dowlah at Plassey on June 20th, 1757. Mir Jafar was established by the English as Nawab of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar.

C. The Deccan.

Bussy, after the departure of Dupleix, had maintained French influence in the Deccan and secured the friendship of the Nizam of Hyderabad.

¹ See page 87.

Lally, who reached India with reinforcements in 1758, foolishly recalled Bussy from Hyderabad.

1760. A British force from Bengal captured Manipur and the Nizam of Hyderabad became a faithful ally of England.

D. The Carnatic.

Lally captured Fort St. David in 1758, but failed to take Madras.

1760. Lally was defeated by Coote at Wandiwash and retired to Pondicherry.

January, 1761. Pondicherry surrendered to the British, and the French power in India was broken.

Dupleix's plan had compelled the East India Company to make counter alliances with native princes and to adopt a military policy in order to expel the French from India. Their policy had proved completely successful owing to the military skill of the British leaders, the strong support of Pitt and the control of the sea.

III. The Maritime War.

A. The Lynd and Alouette.

June, 1758. The bad feeling between France and Great Britain which was caused by colonial rivalry was aggravated by the capture off the mouth of the St. Lawrence by Rodney of two French ships of the line, the *Egypt* and *Alouette*, which formed part of a French fleet carrying reinforcements to Canada. British cruisers now attacked French merchant ships and before Christmas, 1758, took three hundred into British ports. Such high-handed action made war imminent.

B. The opening of the naval war.

Both sides commenced military and naval preparations at Dunkirk and Brest for an invasion of England. A fleet was fitted out at Toulon to attack Minorca, and a British fleet under Byng was sent to defend it. Pitt

placed Temple at the Admiralty, and the navy rapidly improved.

June 28th, 1759. Richelieu captured Mysore, which Byng failed to relieve.

Cherbourg was captured, but the British were repulsed from St. Malo in June and September, 1758. Gorée was taken in January, and Guadalupe in May, 1759.

C. Chastell's plan, 1758.

The growing strength of the British navy and the serious losses the French had suffered in the colonies induced Choiseul to revive Belle-Isle's plan of an invasion of England. Transports were collected at Havre, Brest, Rochefort and Dunkirk, and fleets to protect them were fitted out at Toulon, Brest and Dunkirk. Pitt, while maintaining communications with India and America, sent Boscawen to Blockade Toulon and Hawke to watch Brest.

August 17th, 1759. The Toulon fleet, which had avoided his blockade, was defeated by Boscawen in Lagos Bay.

September 20th, 1759. Hawke defeated the Brest fleet under Conflans at Quiberon Bay.

February 28th, 1760. Thurot, sailing from Dunkirk to Ireland, was defeated and killed at Kinsale.

In 1760 all danger of an invasion had passed : the re-organisation of the navy had facilitated the successful defence of Quebec and the capture of Pondicherry, and "Boscawen in the New World, Boscawen in the Mediterranean and Hawke in the Channel were masters of the sea." The capture of the small island of Belle-Isle in June, 1761, was noteworthy because it involved the occupation of a part of France.

D. Great Britain against France and Spain, 1762-1763.

January 2nd, 1762. Bute was compelled to declare war against Spain owing to the Family Compact.

February, 1762. Rodney took Martinique.

August, 1762. The capture of Havana threatened the safety of Spanish treasure ships sailing from the Gulf of Mexico and captured immense booty, including \$3,000,000 in money.

September, 1762. Manila was captured and the Philippines passed to Great Britain.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. XV.

The Growth of the Empire (1701-1815), Murray, chaps. II-IV.
Mosley's Europe. Chas.

THE END OF THE WAR

By the end of 1762 Prussia, Austria, Saxony and France were anxious for peace. Frederick II said that his "army was ruined . . . the old officers had perished . . . the young were of an age that did not promise great services." Much of Germany "was transformed into a wilderness." Saxe was desolate. Maria Theresa, realizing at last that she could not regain Silesia, had made a truce in November, 1762, with Frederick II and deserted the Imperialist princes. France was defeated and humiliated.

But the British people, proud of their victories and of the vast amount of treasure secured by recent naval operations, strongly supported the continuance of the war in the hope of further conquests. Charles III wished to continue the war in the hope that Spain would retrieve her losses. But Chastell and Rose were determined to make peace. The former was over Charles III; the latter gave such heavy bribes to Parliament that it accepted the preliminaries which had been signed at Fontainebleau on November 2nd, 1762; the Peace of Paris between Britain, France and Spain was signed on February 10th, 1763.

I. The Peace of Paris.

A. Great Britain and France.

(1) North America.

France ceded Canada, Nova Scotia,¹ Cape Bonavista and all disputed land east of the Mississippi.

Britain gave French fishermen the right of fishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and off Newfoundland with the islands of St. Pierre and Miquelon, which were not to be fortified, as shelters and drying stations.

(2) The West Indies.

Britain kept Grenada, St. Vincent, Dominica and Tobago and restored to France Martinique, Guadalupe and St. Lucia.

(3) India.

France received back the factories she had held in 1748, which were to be used only as trading and not as military stations.

(4) Europe.

France evacuated all territories of Hanover, Hesse, Brunswick and Prussia; gave up Minorca and promised to dismantle Dunkirk; received back Belle Isle.

(5) Africa.

Britain kept Senegal and restored Goree to France.

B. Spain.

Spain gives up all claims to the Newfoundland fishing, allowed the British to cut logwood in Honduras Bay, agreed to refer disputes as to pirates to British Courts.

Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain, receiving in exchange Havana from Britain and Louisiana from France. Manila and the Philippines, captured while peace negotiations were in progress, were restored without territorial equivalent.

Spain evacuated Portugal and restored all the Portuguese colonies that she had conquered.

¹ Acadia.

C. Criticism.

- (1) Great Britain had got much.

She gained the eastern portion of North America, important colonies in the West Indies, supremacy in India and the command of the seas.

- (2) Great Britain ought to have got more.

Florida was not a fair exchange for Havana, the richest of the English conquests; Manila was "simply thrown away." The restoration of Gorée the centre of the French slave trade, of Martinique a valuable naval station, of the right of entry to the Newfoundland fisheries which were valuable training grounds for French sailors and of the factories in India encouraged the development of a new French naval and commercial policy.

- (3) France and Spain.

France was broken and humiliated. Spain had gained nothing but disaster from her intervention.

- (4) Frederick II.

Bute had disgracefully deserted Frederick II, who was left to make his own terms with Austria.

II. The Treaty of Hubertusburg, February, 1763.

February 13th, 1763. Prussia, Austria and Saxony made the Treaty of Hubertusburg, which restored the Silesia *pro ante bellum*. Maria Theresa agreed that Frederick II should keep Silesia and Olstet; Frederick promised to vote for the Archduke Joseph as King of the Romans and to restore Saxony to its Elector, Augustus III of Poland.

III. The Results of the War.

The Seven Years' War, which had cost the death of nearly a million soldiers and wrought appalling havoc in Germany, led to very few territorial changes in Europe, but exercised an important influence on the relative position of the Great Powers.

A. Great Britain.

Great Britain secured a vast colonial empire and the extinction of the war.¹ "The definite establishment of the British power in India and the exclusive usurpation of North America by the Anglo-Saxon race, are events of the most far-reaching and stupendous importance."² But the removal of the danger from France in America hastened the revolt of the American colonies which gave to France and Spain an opportunity of again challenging the naval supremacy of Britain.

B. France.

The unpopular Austrian Alliance of 1747, the work of Madame de Pompadour and Louis XV, had humiliated France and reduced her for a time to a second-rate power largely dependent on Austria. It had shown the utter failiility of Louis XV's government and demonstrated the wantonness and inefficiency of the nobles whom the fancy of the King and his mistress had put in command of the French armies. The war had thus brought France nearer to the Revolution.

C. Prussia.

Frederick II had kept his territory intact. For this he was partly indebted to good fortune; to the failure of D'Assas to follow up the victories the Austrians had won; to the jealousy between Austria and Russia; to the opportunistic death of the Empress Elizabeth; to the steady support of Pitt. But he would not have emerged victorious but for his own courage and great military skill.

The result of the war emphasised the position of Prussia as the leader of Northern Germany as opposed to Austria, the leader of Southern Germany.

¹ Lodge, *Modern Europe*, page 479.

D. Russia.

Russia had shown herself to be one of the leading powers of Europe, but the differences of interest between the Empress Elizabeth and Peter had weakened her efficiency. Under the strong rule of Catherine II she would make further progress.

References:

- The Balance of Power* (Maxwell, Birkbeck), chap. ix.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. ix.
Maria Theresa (Bright), *Macmillan*, chap. viii.

SECTION V
FRANCE AND GREAT BRITAIN
FROM 1768-1788

FRANCE AFTER THE PEACE OF PARIS

I. The Position of France in 1763.

Largely owing to the rapidly growing power of Russia, the affairs of Eastern Europe became of great importance after the Peace of Paris. France, as the ally of Austria, might have been expected to intervene, but the loss of prestige she had suffered in the Seven Years' War, in which Russia said she had played an "extravagant and shameful" part, the conquest by Great Britain of most of her colonies and her financial embarrassment, which had been greatly increased by the war, and which was aggravated by a debt of 24,000,000 livres she owed to Austria owing to the Treaty of 1763, had reduced her to the status of a second, perhaps a third, class power.¹¹ Since the Treaty of Versailles, 1756, France had ceased to have a constructive policy.¹² She had sacrificed her interests to those of Austria; Austria and Sweden were her only allies, and she was practically in subjection to Austria.¹³ France became almost completely interested in the Hapsburg system.¹⁴ She therefore took no effective steps to secure the alliance of Frederick II or to check the designs of Russia on Turkey or Poland, which were rendered still more dangerous owing to the treaty of "perpetual peace and alliance" made between Prussia and Russia in April, 1764.

II. Chatelet, 1763-1770.

The Count of Stainville, the French ambassador to Vienna, had been created Duke Chatelet for his services in arranging the marriage between Louis (XVI) and Maria Theresa's daughter Marie Antoinette, which took

¹¹ Cf. D.R.

¹² Ibid.

place in 1770. He succeeded Bernis as Minister of Foreign Affairs and held this office from 1788-1791, when he played an important part in the diplomacy of the Seven Years' War.¹ From 1791-1793 he was Minister of War and Marine, his cousin, the Count of Chouzenel, created Due de Pradt, succeeding him as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

He maintained his position in spite of the death of his friend Madame de Pompadour in 1764, and again became Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1793.

A. France and Great Britain.

Chouzenel refused to regard the Peace of Paris as a permanent settlement. He rightly told Louis XV that "Britain is the arched enemy of your power, of your state," and determined to recognise the French navy and to make more effective the Family Compact he had concluded with Spain in 1762 in order to recover from Great Britain the possessions the French had lost by the Peace of Paris. Grimaldi, the minister of Charles III, held similar views.

Realising how much France was weakened by financial embarrassed, Chouzenel endeavoured, with little success, to reform the finances. But he succeeded in reorganising the army. He fortified Martinique as a base for future naval operations in the West Indies. He greatly improved the efficiency of officers and crews, supplied the navy with new guns, accumulated large stores of war material. In 1770 the navy numbered "sixty-four ships of the line and fifty frigates,"² as compared with forty ships of the line in 1756.

B. Foreign policy.

Owing to his own precipitation with Great Britain, to the dependence of France on Austria and to the futility of the secret diplomacy of Louis XV the foreign policy of Chouzenel proved ineffective.

¹ Page 322.

Russell.

(1) Russia.

France viewed with alarm the designs of Russia on Poland and Turkey.

a. Poland.

1764. An attempt to secure the support of Turkey for the candidature of the Elector of Saxony proved unsuccessful and showed that France had lost the powerful influence she had once exercised at Constantinople. Maria Theresa had offered no opposition to the designs of Russia in Poland,¹ and in 1768 France was compelled to acquiesce in the election of Stanislaus II.

b. Turkey.

Chasselot renewed the attempt to stir up Turkey against Russia and, largely owing to the skilful diplomacy of the French ambassador Vergennes, Turkey declared war on Russia in 1768. But when after the defeat of the Turkish fleet at Chesme in 1773 the Sultan asked for French help, Chasselot could send him only 1500 men.

(2) Austria.

1768. Chasselot had never been strongly in favour of the Austrian alliance, which had been somewhat weakened by the accession of Joseph II, who, as the son of Philippe² of Lorraine, resented the seizure of Lorraine. But France could not do without Austria, Xaverte strongly supported the alliance and the marriage, in 1770, of Louis, Due de Berri, who had become Dauphin in 1765, to Marie Antoinette, bound France more closely to Austria.

(3) Prussia.

1768. Pitt returned to office and wished to form a coalition of Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sweden and Denmark to balance the combination of France, Spain and Austria and thus to prevent a new outbreak of war between Great Britain and France.

¹ Page 22.

² Page 20. The Empress Francis I.

1768. Chasselot, still doubtful as to the pertinence of the Austrian alliance, now reposed diplomatic relations with Prussia, but Frederick II refused to fall in with his plan. In 1770 the French ambassador was recalled from Berlin.

C. The fall of Chasselot.

Chasselot had aroused the resentment of Louis XV, who was jealous of the popularity of "Roi Chasselot," by supporting the Parliament against him; he had refused to fetter Louis' mistress, Madame du Barry. In 1770 war seemed likely to break out between Great Britain and Spain because the Spaniards had attacked the Falkland Isles, which had been occupied by a British force in 1766, and Louis, knowing Chasselot's attitude towards Britain, feared that France might be involved owing to the Family Compact.

December 26th, 1770. Chasselot was dismissed and D'Aligre succeeded him as Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Chasselot was a patriotic statesman who appreciated the need of a close alliance with Spain against Great Britain, realized that the best interests of France were not promoted by the Austrian alliance, did something to restore the influence of France in Constantinople and succeeded in doing much to revive the French navy. He had skilfully arranged for the incorporation of Lorraine with France on the death of Stanislaus Leszinski in 1766, and his acquisition of Corsica from Genoa in 1769 had given France an important naval base in the Mediterranean. His fall involved "the complete abolition of France as an efficient force in the international affairs of Europe."

Reference:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xv.

FROM THE FALL OF CHOISEUL TO THE CLOSE OF THE WAR BETWEEN GREAT BRITAIN AND FRANCE, 1770-1783

i. The Trianonists.

On the dismissal of Choiseul the Government was carried on by the Trianonists, Marigny the Chancellor, the Abbé Terray, Minister of Finance, and D'Aguesseau, Minister for Foreign Affairs.

A. Domestic policy.

1771. The overthrow of the Parliament of Paris and the establishment of the "Parlement Suprême"¹ destroyed "the only organ of liberty by which the nation could make itself heard";² Terney's management increased the financial exasperation of France.

B. Foreign policy.

The foreign policy of those years shows that France had lost most of her old influence in Europe, although Vergennes gained a striking success in Sweden.

(i) Poland.

1772. The First Partition of Poland,³ the maintenance of which as a barrier against Russia had been an important feature of French foreign policy, showed that the influence of France, which under Choiseul had made Austria reluctant to agree to the Partition, was no longer effective.

(ii) Sweden.

1773. Largely owing to the skilful diplomacy of Vergennes, who went to Stockholm as French ambassador in 1773, Gustavus III successfully reasserted the royal power⁴ and checked the designs of Russia, Prussia and Denmark which might have led to the dismemberment of Sweden.

¹ Page 46.

² Page 130.

³ Page 1.

⁴ Page 229.

(3) Turkey.

1774. Partly owing to the influence of Great Britain, Turkey, the old ally of France, was compelled to agree to the Peace of Kotschuk-Kainardi,¹ which gave Russia a footing on the Black Sea.

(4) Great Britain.

Great Britain repeatedly checked the designs of France. She refused to allow the Tripartite to seize the Netherlands. She prevented France from sending a fleet to the Baltic to help Gustavus III by threatening to send a British fleet as well.

She prevented France from sending a fleet to help the Turks against Russia.

She showed herself friendly towards Russia, which France viewed with strong disfavour.

II. The Death of Louis XV.

May 10th, 1774. Death of Louis XV. The cry of "Félicite plaisir des damnés," with which his funeral was greeted, shows the contempt with which his subjects regarded him. His death was important mainly because "with Louis XV disappeared the pretence of royalty. It was never to return. The mockery of 'deut deus' was henceforth condemned."²

III. Vergennes, Minister of Foreign Affairs, 1774-1787.

Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes, had acted as representative of France at Constantinople and Stockholm, and although not a great statesman was an experienced diplomatist. Like Chastell, he aimed at recovering from Great Britain the colonies France had lost, and at weakening the dependence of France on Austria. He took full advantage of the opportunity afforded by the dispute between Great Britain and the American colonies.

¹ Page 303.

² Quoted by Dr. H.H.

A. The outbreak of war between Great Britain and the Colonies.

The removal of the danger from France by the conquest of Canada made the colonies less dependent upon Britain. Considerable resentment had long been felt at the restrictions imposed by the Mother Country on colonial trade; the passing of the Stamp Act in 1765, involving the principle that Great Britain had the right to tax the colonies, which were not represented in Parliament, led to war between Britain and the colonies and to the issue on July 4th, 1776, of the Declaration of Independence.¹

B. French sympathy with the colonists.

The cause of the colonists aroused great sympathy in France. Marie Antoinette strongly favoured it; Vergennes urged that France and Spain should help the colonists, partly because if Great Britain defeated them she would probably try to secure the remaining possessions of France and Spain in America, partly because if the colonists won unaided they would probably try to conquer the French and Spanish West Indies. But Louis XVI did not want war with Great Britain, and Turgot, who was making a heroic effort to restore the financial condition of France, his successor Necker and Maurepas strongly opposed French intervention, which would further embarrass the finances and would set a dangerous precedent by supporting rebels.

France did not immediately join in the war, and Vergennes, through the French ambassador in London, promised Great Britain to observe strict neutrality. He broke his promise. Facilities were given to Silas Deane to recruit arms for the colonists from the royal arsenals; La Fayette, Noailles, Ségur and many other volunteers were allowed to go and fight in the American army; the French Government secretly contributed one million

¹ Page 103.

² For details see *Notes on French History*, Vol. III, pages 581 et seq.

lives and persuaded Spain to give another; French privateers were encouraged to attack British merchant-ships; Benjamin Franklin, who arrived in Paris in December, 1776, as envoy from Congress, made a most favourable impression owing to the simplicity of his dress and manners, while the followers of Voltaire and Rousseau enthusiastically welcomed him as the representative of men who were fighting for liberty. The unofficial help of France enabled the colonists to hold out in the early years of the war, in spite of the insufficiency, apathy and strife which hampered their efforts.

IV. France, Spain and Holland at War with Great Britain.

a. Declaration of war.

(October 17th, 1778.) Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga was mainly important because it seemed to show that Britain was weakening and encouraged France, and later Spain, speedily to side with the colonists.

(1) France, 1778.

(February 6th, 1778.) France made an alliance with the United States.

The active support of France gave to the United States the sea power necessary to check communication between Britain and America, and without this the New England states would probably have been defeated, although an American republic might have been established along the Mississippi. The alliance gave France a chance of recovering the West Indies, which was her first object; she hoped also to use the occasion to weaken British influence in India and invited Wijdey Ali to rise; she supported the United States as a means of securing these objects. The French share in the war, therefore, was almost entirely naval, and her operations in the West Indies were of great importance.

From a military point of view Vergennes acted wisely in siding with the United States; in view of the difficult conditions at France, he made a grave mistake.

During the war Great Britain was hampered by the Gordon Riots of 1780 and the demand of independence for Ireland, encouraged by the success of the United States.

March, 1778. War broke out between Great Britain and France and operations took place in the English Channel, off Gibraltar, off the coast of North America, in the West Indies and in India.

(2) Spain, 1779.

June 18th, 1779. Spain declared war on Great Britain. Spain had tried to embarrass Britain by intriguing with Prussia, Russia and Hyder Ali. Her main object in declaring war was to recover Gibraltar and the colonies she had ceded by the Treaty of Paris.

(3) Holland, 1780.

December 20th, 1780. Great Britain declared war on Holland.

The regulière party favored France and refused the request of Britain that Holland should give such help as was guaranteed by the treaties of 1658 and 1713; Paul Jones, the famous privateer, was allowed to take two captured British frigates into the Texel to visit and to leave with his prizes in spite of a strong protest from Britain against this breach of neutrality; the Dutch had supplied vast quantities of munitions of war to the United States, France and Spain. The Dutch held that neutral ships make neutral cargo except contraband of war and strongly resisted the seizure of merchantmen which were taken into Spithead in 1778.

The immediate cause of the declaration of war was the discovery on a captured American ship of proof that Holland was now contemplating an

alliance with the United States and the desire to declare war before the Dutch joined the Armed Neutrality of the North.

(4) The Armed Neutrality of the North, 1780.

Great Britain maintained her right to confiscate as contraband of war timber, hemp and pitch exported from Baltic ports to France and Spain for ship-building, and to search neutral vessels for contraband of war. Catherine II was well disposed towards Britain, but her minister Panin was friendly to Frederick II, who still resented his desertion by Brest in 1762.¹ Panin persuaded Catherine to refuse the offer of Britain to cede Minorca as the price of an alliance with Russia, and to issue in February, 1780, a declaration of the rights of neutrals. This asserted that neutral vessels may navigate freely from port to port and along the coasts of belligerents, that the flag covers the cargo except contraband of war, that blockade to be respected must be effective. Russia, Sweden and Denmark formed the Armed Neutrality of the North in August, 1780, and agreed to close the Baltic to belligerent vessels and, if necessary, to support their principles by force; it was joined later by Prussia, Austria and Portugal. Holland was prevented from joining it by the declaration of war by Britain in December, 1780.

The Armed Neutrality completed the isolation of Britain in 1780, when her position seemed desperate. But its results actually proved disastrous, and Catherine II declared that it was only an *Armed Nullity*.

B. Operations in the English Channel and North Sea.

July 27th, 1780. Drawn battle off Ushant between Kappel and D'Orvilliers. The result suggested that Great Britain had lost the sovereignty of the seas.

¹ Page 162, C. 4.

August, 1779. The French and Spanish fleets appeared off Plymouth and seemed likely to effect a landing.

[1779. Serious damage inflicted on British shipping by Paul Jones, who raided the coasts of Scotland and Ireland.]

January, 1781. Complete defeat of a small French force in Jersey.

August 6th, 1781. Drawn battle between Admiral Parker and a Dutch fleet on the Dogger Bank.

C. Operations on the coast of North America.

1778. D'Eistaing appeared off Sandy Hook, found New York too strong to attack and left for the West Indies.

October, 1778. D'Eistaing co-operated with the Americans in an unsuccessful attack on Savannah in Georgia.

July, 1780. A French fleet landed 6000 men under Rochambeau in Rhode Island.

October, 1781. The success of De Grasse in landing troops in the Chesapeake, the union of the forces of Rochambeau and Washington led to the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown on October 19th, 1781.

D. Operations in the West Indies.

The French took Dominica (1778), D'Eistaing took St. Vincent and Grenada (1779) and defeated an English fleet under Byng.

February, 1781. Rodney took St. Martin from the Dutch, but failed to intercept De Grasse, who was sailing to the Chesapeake.

The French took Tobago in June and St. Eustatius in October, 1781; St. Kitts and Nevis in February, 1782. They then planned a joint attack with Spain on Jamaica which, with Antigua and Barbados, was all that remained to Great Britain in the West Indies.

April 12th, 1782. Rodney routed De Grasse at the Battle of the Saints and thus saved Jamaica, greatly

damaged the French navy and did something to restore the prestige Britain had lost during the war.

[May, 1781. The Spaniards completed the conquest of Florida.]

E. Gibraltar, June, 1782–February, 1783.

The Spanish commenced the siege of Gibraltar, the recovery of which was their main object.

January, 1782. Rodney defeated the Spanish fleet and relieved Gibraltar.

April–June, 1782. Violent but unsuccessful bombardment by the Spaniards on land and sea.

[February, 1782. The French and Spaniards capture Minorca. They now blockaded Gibraltar.]

September–October, 1782. Great attack by a French army of 40,000 men, under O'Brien, and Spaniards with forty-nine ships of the line and ten floating batteries. Heroic and successful resistance of the garrison of 2000 men under General Elliott, who set the floating batteries on fire with red-hot cannon-balls. Hyne brought food and reinforcements to the garrison and beat off the combined French and Spanish fleet which tried to cut him off.

F. India and the East.

(1) Hyder Ali.

On the news of the outbreak of war Warren Hastings joined all the French towns on the Coromandel coast, and when the French fleet under Suffren arrived it was hampered by lack of hardware. The smaller English fleet under Hughes checked Suffren's operations in Indian waters.

1783. The English were at war with the Mahrattas, and Hyder Ali, instigated by the French and relying upon the co-operation of Suffren's fleet and De Bougainville's infantry, overran the Carnatic. But D'Estrees defeated him at Pollilur in 1785, and Porto Novo in

1781. Hyder Ali's son, Tipu Sahib, continued the war after the Treaty of Versailles, but lost the assistance of the French and made peace with England in 1784.

(2) The Dutch.

1780. On the outbreak of war Warren Hastings seized the Dutch settlements of Nagapattinam and Trincomalee.
1781. Hughes failed to take the Dutch colony at the Cape of Good Hope.

(3) General.

(i) The importance of naval power.

The war vindicated the naval policy of Chatham, and the improvement of the French navy and the neglect of the British were important factors in the loss of America. The northern British army at Yorktown depended on the sea for its communications with the southern in Carolina, as overland communications were very difficult and dangerous. The loss of the naval supremacy of Britain separated her forces in America and enabled the French to bring effective aid to the Americans. The navy, said Washington, "had a casting vote in the contest."

The reorganisation of the British navy, leading to the Battle of the Saints and Howe's successful relief of Gibraltar, did much to restore British prestige and gained for Britain favourable terms in the Treaty of Versailles.

(2) Bavaria.

The occupation of Bavaria by Austrian troops in 1778 was partly due to the fact that France, an ally of Bavaria, was fully occupied with the war against Britain. Vergennes, realising the need of using all the forces of France against Britain, refused the tempting offer of Austria to give up the Netherlands to France and by very skilful diplomacy and

the collaboration of Russia averted by the Treaty of Tilsit, what might have proved a European war which would have prevented France from concentrating on the struggle with Britain.

V. The Treaty of Versailles, 1783.

A. Conditions leading to the Peace of Versailles.

(1) Peace between Great Britain and the United States.

The war between Great Britain and the United States practically ended with the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown; but the naval war between Britain and her European enemies continued.

(2) Difference of interest between France and the United States.

A difference of interest now appeared between the Americans and the French. The Americans were satisfied with the independence they had gained, the formal acknowledgement of which was secured by the accession to office of the Rockingham Whigs in March, 1782; they cared nothing for the aggressiveness of France and Spain, who, believing that the power of Britain was broken, desired to continue the war in the hope of further conquests.

Vergennes wished to prevent the establishment of a strong American state which might threaten the possessions of France in the West Indies; he did not wish the United States to conquer Canada; he proposed to confine the United States within the Alleghanies and to give the Mississippi valley to Spain as a compensation for the failure to recover Gibraltar; he tried to estrange the relations between the United States and Great Britain by inducing the former to demand and the latter to refuse a share in the Newfoundland fishing.

(3) Conditions leading to the Peace.

Rodney's victory and the strenuous defence of Gibraltar showed Vergennes that Britain was stronger

than he had thought ; the financial position in France was desperate ; Vergennes was anxious to make peace with Britain and, if possible, to secure her friendship in view of the growing danger from the designs of Russia and Austria on Turkey.

The discovery of French despatches which revealed the designs of Vergennes led the United States to sign, without the knowledge of the French, preliminaries of peace with Great Britain on November 30th, 1782. The war was concluded by the definitive Peace of Versailles, which was signed on September 3rd, 1783.

B. Terms of the Peace.

The contracting parties were Great Britain, France, Spain and the United States.

(1) The United States.

Great Britain acknowledged the independence of the United States ; recognised the Mississippi as their western boundary ; granted the right of fishing on the banks of Newfoundland.

(2) France.

France received her commercial establishments in India, St. Lucia, Tobago, Senegal and Goree, the right of sharing in the Newfoundland fishery and the island of St. Pierre and Miquelon. Great Britain recovered Dominica, Grenada, St. Vincent, St. Kitts, Barbados and Montserrat in the West Indies, and Georgia in Eastern Africa.

(3) Spain.

Spain retained Minorca and West Florida and received East Florida. Britain, strengthened by the good understanding established with the United States in November, 1782, refused to give up Gibraltar. Spain gave up Pampeluna and the Bahamas and allowed the British to cut logwood in Honduras.

(4) Holland.

Holland made a definitive peace with England in May, 1784, surrendered Nagapatam but received back their other colonies. She recognized for the first time the right of Great Britain to trade freely in the Indian seas and thus relinquished the monopoly she had long exercised.

C. Criticism.

(1) Great Britain.

Great Britain had escaped lightly. But her position was lowered; she had lost some colonies; she had failed to ensure the safety of the loyalists in the United States; the Armed Neutrality of the North and the exploits of the French in the Channel weakened her naval supremacy.

(2) France.

France had had revenge on Great Britain and strengthened her influence in Europe. But the cost of the war added to her financial difficulties, and sympathy with America had taught the people lessons of republicanism which were soon to lead to revolution.

(3) Spain.

Spain had failed to get Gibraltar. She had gained Minorca and Florida, but the new American ideas were soon to cause trouble in her colonies. But she was the greatest gainer by the peace.

(4) Holland.

Holland was greatly weakened, and her misfortunes led to strong opposition to the Stadtholder which added to her weakness.

(5) Russia and Austria.

The war gave Russia and Austria an opportunity of carrying out their plans for aggression in Eastern Europe.

References:

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chaps. IX-XI.

RUSSIA FROM THE DEATH OF PETER THE GREAT TO THE DEATH OF THE EMPRESS ELIZABETH, 1725-1762

Alexis I

(1645-76).



L. Catherine I, 1725-1727; Peter II, 1727-1734; Anna, 1730-1740.

A. The Austrian Alliance, 1736.

On the death of Peter the Great he was succeeded by his wife Catherine I, who had been crowned Empress at Moscow in 1724. Menschikoff became all powerful, and the only important event of the reign was the treaty concluded with Austria on August 26th, 1736. This treaty provided that each power should send 30,000 men to help the other if attacked, and both should unite against Turkey. Russia guaranteed the Pragmatic Sanction.

B. Peter II.

Peter II, son of Alexis,² the son of Peter the Great, succeeded his grandmother. Menschikoff, whose daughter was betrothed to Peter, became Regent and drove out of Russia Anna, daughter of Peter the Great, and her husband Charles Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp. Menschikoff was banished in 1737, and the chief power passed to Alexis and Fyodor Dolgorukoff, who represented the old conservative Russian party which resisted the introduction of Western civilization and wished to make Moscow again the capital of Russia.

C. The Ascension of Anna, 1730.

On the death of Peter II the direct Romanov succession was broken and the Dolgorukoffs and Golitsins secured the accession of Anna Ivanovna, Duchess of Orlowetz, a niece of Peter the Great; they hoped to maintain the authority which the nobles had exercised in the two previous reigns, but on March 2nd, 1730, Anna, with the support of the clergy, the lower nobility and the Vice-Chancellor Ostermann, overthrew the council of the nobles and re-established the absolute authority of the sovereign. The Old Russian party was broken; the Court was moved to St. Petersburg, discipline, which had been relaxed under Anna's predecessor, was enforced over the nobles; the army and navy were reorganized.

Unlike Peter the Great, Anna relied upon foreign ministers. Strelitz, a Cossack, became Grand Chamberlain; Münnich, a German, Commander-in-Chief; and Ostermann, a Westphalian, Minister of Foreign Affairs. "For the first time in her history Russia was now dominated by foreigners."

Ostermann strongly favoured union with Austria; he refused Louis XV's offer of an alliance with France and helped to drive Stanislaus from Poland in 1733,³ and in

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 481. ³ Page 18.

1736 sent a Russian force to the Black and made Phary more ready to agree to the Third Treaty of Niemys.¹ He made a commercial treaty with Great Britain in 1732.

Thus the influence of France in Russia was weakened ; Russia had taken the first step towards the Partition of Poland, and the treaty of 1736 affected the Eastern policy of Austria and Russia for many years.

I. The Turkish War, 1736-1739.

The antagonism of the Russians to the Turks was partly due to the fact that the latter were the successors of the Tartars, the old enemies of Russia ; partly to the sympathy felt in Russia for the Greek Christians who were subject to Turkey ; partly to the hindrance offered by the Turkish dominion to the expansion of Russia to the South-East and South.

The growing power of Russia tended to exert on the Black Sea, and the Russians strongly resented the restoration of Azof to Turkey in 1718.² The commerce of Southern Russia lay at the mercy of the Turks, who controlled the great river of that district ; the Tartars of the Crimea continually invaded Russia, and to check them Peter the Great planned the strong base of the Ukraine. The great wealth of the Crimea, which was likely to provoke the rapacity of Russia, led the Turks to protect it by the very powerful base of Perekop. It was obvious that war was bound to break out between Russia and Turkey, and that while the base of the Ukraine might support a Russian advance the base of Perekop would make an attack on the Crimea dangerous and costly. War with Turkey would involve Russia in difficulties with France, which enjoyed practically a monopoly of the Levant trade, with protection for Roman Catholics in Turkish dominions, and was determined to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. France viewed with alarm the development of Russia,

¹ Page 19. — ² *Note on European History*, Vol. II, page 472.

which Fléury declared "has mounted to too high a degree of power."

The Turks had been engaged in a war with Persia, and Anne, in January, 1736, made a treaty with the Persian leader Nader Shah, and thus prevented the Turks from adopting the advice of the French ambassador that they should attack Russia during the War of the Polish Succession. The accession of the Hessian candidate Augustus III to the throne of Poland in 1733 assured the easy passage of Russian troops through Poland; the conclusion of the War of the Polish Succession left Russia free for other enterprises; she could confidently expect the co-operation of Austria in accordance with the treaty of 1733 and in return for help given in the late war. The appeals of Christian subjects of the Porte for protection against oppression, frequent Tatar invasions into the South of Russia and the help sent by Turkey to the opponents of Prussia in Poland furnished reasons for war, and in July, 1736, Russia declared war on Turkey.

"The Turkish War of 1736-1739 marks the beginning of that systematic struggle on the part of Russia to recover her natural and legitimate southern boundaries, which was to last throughout the eighteenth century."¹

A. Russia and Turkey, 1736-1739.

1736. Lacy captured Azoff. Minich stormed the lines of Bender and captured Kozluk. But Minich lost more than half his army through disease, and the Russians retired into the Ukraine.

1737. Minich captured Ochakov and occupied Moldavia and Lacy ravaged the Crimea, but the Russians again retreated.

1738. Minich took Cherson and Jassy, but his further progress was checked by the desertion of the Austrians.

¹ Cambridge Modern History

i. Austria and Turkey, 1735-1739.

Austria in 1737 renewed the treaty of 1729 and declared war against Turkey.

1737. The Austrians took and the Turks recaptured Nišva.

1738. The Austrians, who complained that they had not received proper co-operation from Münich, Iambazandria and Ossava.

1739. The Turks won a great victory at Chesnica and besieged Belgrade.

ii. Sweden and Russia, 1738.

Largely owing to the influence of France, which was anxious to weaken Russia, the "Noot"¹ effected a revolution in Stockholm and made a treaty with France in October, 1738; massed troops in Finland and, with the help of French subsidies, equipped a fleet for service against Russia; made proposals for an alliance with Turkey against the common enemy Russia.

3. The Peace of Belgrade, 1739.

(i) Austria and Turkey.

Charles VI, disheartened by defeat, anxious to leave himself free to promote the Pragmatic Sanction and ignorant of Münich's victory at Chesnica, accepted the mediation of France and made with Turkey the Peace of Belgrade in September, 1739.

Austria gave up Belgrade and Ossava, evacuated Servia, Bosnia and Wallachia, but retained the Banat of Temesvar. Thus Austria gave up all she had gained by the Treaty of Passowitz in 1718, but progress to the West was checked and she prevented the Russians from taking full advantage of the success they had gained.

(ii) Russia and Turkey, 1739.

The danger of a rising of the Old Russian party led by the Dolgorukin and Galitzins, the impending

¹ Page 126.

Swedish attack, the desertion of Austria, led the Russians to accept the mediation of Villeneuve and make the Peace of Belgrade with Turkey in September, 1739. Russia kept Azoff, which was to be dismembered, but gave up all her other conquests and evacuated the Crimea and Moldavia. Russia was to maintain no fleet on the Black Sea.

(3) Sweden and Turkey, 1740.

To save Sweden from being crushed by Russia, Villeneuve negotiated an alliance between Sweden and Turkey in July, 1740.

E. General.

The Russian designs on Sweden and Turkey, and Austrian plans for extension along the Danube, were checked; the alliance between Russia and Austria was weakened; Villeneuve's great skill had accomplished in the Peace of Belgrade "the *clay's* *œuvre* of French diplomacy," and, in gratitude, the Turks in 1740 confirmed and extended the valuable privileges enjoyed by Francemen in Eastern Europe.

III. The Empress Elizabeth, 1741-1762.

A. The accession of Elizabeth.

Anne was succeeded by her son, James VI, a baby, and Mensch became chief minister. To embarrass Russia France induced Sweden to declare war in August, 1741, and La Chétardie favoured the attempt of Elisabeth, daughter of Peter the Great, to secure the throne.

December 6th, 1741. With the help of the Guards and the approval of the Russians, who disliked the foreign minister of Anne, Elisabeth became Empress. James VI was kept in prison until he was murdered in 1766. Elisabeth proved a business-like sovereign and showed wisdom in the choice of her advisers. She banished Osterman and Mensch to Siberia and made a Russian, Alexis Bestushev, Vice-Chancellor in 1742.

I. Alexei Bestuzhev.

(1) French and France.

The help La Chétardie had given to Elizabeth was discredited by his attempt to protect Sweden after her defeat by the Russian general Lacy at Viborg—struck in August, 1741, and to unite Denmark and Sweden and Turkey against Russia. His designs were discovered and he left St. Petersburg in July, 1742.

August 17th, 1743. By the Peace of Abo¹ Sweden and Russia were reconciled. Sweden ceded South Finland to Russia. The Peace was a severe blow to France.

(2) Reckless and France.

Bestuzhev regarded France as the enemy of Russia because of her opposition to Russian plans in Turkey, Poland and Sweden. Opposition to France led to opposition to Frederick II, the ally of France, and to friendly relations with the opponents of France—Austria, Great Britain and Savoy.

(3) The War of the Austrian Succession.

During the War of the Austrian Succession Bestuzhev in 1744, by order of Elizabeth, expelled La Chétardie, who had returned to St. Petersburg; protested against the aggression of Frederick II; tried, unsuccessfully, to secure the co-operation of Great Britain against Prussia; concluded a defensive alliance with Austria against Prussia on June 2nd, 1746; made an alliance with Great Britain by the Treaty of St. Petersburg,² 1747. The advance of a Russian army towards the Rhine alarmed the French and facilitated the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle.

By 1748 Russia had secured great influence in Europe owing to the skilful policy of Bestuzhev, who had formed alliances with Great Britain, Sweden and

¹ Page 221.

² Page 22.

Austria, saved Russia from foreign influence, caused the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and included Prussia.

(4) The ruin of Buxhoeft's plan.

Buxhoeft made the Treaty of St. Petersburg in September, 1762, with Great Britain, in spite of the reluctance of Elisabeth, in the hope of "still further clipping the wings of the King of Prussia."

But the Treaty of Westminster, January, 1762,¹ made between Great Britain and Prussia before the Treaty of St. Petersburg was ratified, led to the union of Russia and Austria by the Treaty of Versailles in May, 1762.² Elisabeth now saw the need of making an alliance with France to check Prussia. On March 14th, 1762, Elisabeth decided to invite France, Sweden and Austria to unite with Russia "to reduce the King of Prussia within proper limits so that he might no longer be a danger to the German Empire." In January, 1767, Elisabeth acceded to the Treaty of Versailles.

Thus Buxhoeft's plan, which aimed at limiting the power of Prussia by an alliance with Great Britain and depended on enmity between France and Austria, was completely upset.

1762. Buxhoeft was deprived of his offices and dismissed from the Court.

C. Russia and the Seven Years' War.³

In January, 1762, Russia accepted the Treaty of Versailles and resumed diplomatic relations with France. Elisabeth, who firmly believed that the interests of Russia necessitated the humiliation of Frederick II, by her forces succeeded in maintaining the union of France, Austria and Russia against Prussia, in spite of the growing reluctance of the two former to continue the war and in spite of the failure of inefficient Russian generals to take advantage of their opportunities of

¹ Page 154.

² Page 113.

³ Page 152.

crushing Frederick II. She insisted on the Russian campaign of 1761, which seemed likely to crush Frederick, but her sudden death on January 26th, 1762, saved Prussia from conquest.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. x.¹

THE ACCESSION OF CATHERINE II

I. Peter III.

Peter, son of Peter the Great's daughter Anna, who had married the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, became Tsar on the death of his aunt Elizabeth. He was immoral and "resembled a grown-up child." He lost his life because, he alienated his subjects and his wife.

Peter was essentially German and refused to adapt himself to Russian ways. Frederick II was his hero, and the sudden peace he made with Prussia on his accession was regarded as a dishonourable surrender to the enemy of Russia; he cared more for Holstein than Russia and replaced the Russian Guards by Holsteiners; he introduced Prussian discipline into the Russian army; he was anxious for Russia to declare war on Denmark for the sake of Schleswig.

Peter was a Lutheran; he gave great offence by ridiculing the Greek Church; he tried to abolish the use of candles and pictures, refused to allow Greek feasts to be observed at Court, tried to make the clergy shave their patriarchal beards; he attempted to weaken the Church by confiscating the property of the religious houses.

The enmity of the army and the Church nullified the popularity he had gained by some wise measures. He had recalled from Siberia Biron, Münich and many others whom Elizabeth had banished; abolished torture; allowed nobles to travel. But he acted unwisely in

accepting the nobles, and not the peasants, from the duty of service to the State.

II. Catherine.

In 1745 Peter had married the Princess Sophie of Anhalt-Zerbst, who, wishing to identify herself with her new country, took the name of Catherine, adopted Russian customs, learned the Russian language and joined the Greek Church. Theirs married life was unhappy. Both took lovers, and Schiloff, and not Peter, was the father of Catherine's son Paul. They lived apart after 1758, and Catherine was in continual fear that Peter would divorce her.

A plot was formed to dethrone Peter by Catherine and her lover Gregory Orloff; the Archbishop of Novgorod and the Greek priests supported it; the Russian Guards carried it out.

July 9th, 1762. Catherine II was acknowledged as Empress by the Guards, who compelled Peter III to abdicate.

July 26th, 1762. Peter III was murdered by Alexei Orloff. Although Catherine had not actually ordered the murder she must share the guilt, for she inflicted no punishment on the murderer. But if "she had not accomplished the revolution of 1762 her life of liberty would have been uselessly forfeit."¹

But her position remained precarious. Ivan VI was still alive²; many believed that Peter III lived, and pretenders who claimed to be Peter received support; the Old Russians were ill disposed towards a German Empress. It was not until 1776 that Catherine felt that her position was firmly established.

References:

Modern Europe (Hassall and Dyer), Gee, Bell and Sons, Vol. IV, pp. 288-303.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. 2.

¹ *Historia*.

² He was murdered in 1764.

THE FIRST PARTITION OF POLAND, 1772

I. The Weakness of Poland.

A. Political anarchy.

The conditions of Poland were such as to make a strong government impossible. The Central Government was weak, and there was no feeling of national consciousness.

(1) The Monarchy.

The Monarchy was elective and not hereditary, and the concessions which the nobles won from each new monarch at the price of their votes weakened the royal power. The King had no real authority, for the heads of all departments of State were responsible not to him but to the Diet. Poland was in reality a republic in which the nobles had all power.

(2) The Diet.

Nobles alone could attend the Diet, but its efficiency was raised by the *liberum veto* which allowed a single adverse vote to annul its decisions.

(3) The Right of Confederation.

The nobles had the right of forming confederations to enforce their views by armed force, if necessary.

B. Social conditions.

The nobles included the greater nobles, numbering about one hundred families, of whom about fifteen were conspicuous, and of these often the most famous was "The Family" of the Czartoryski; the lesser nobles, or Szlachta, were divided into two classes, the lower of which numbered about 1,200,000 persons, and were often very poor. The country was distracted by quarrels between different cliques of the nobles who, as a rule, were undisciplined and utterly selfish and too ready to call in foreign agents to promote their personal ends.

There was practically no middle class ; the peasants, who formed two-thirds of the population, were powerless serfs living under feudal conditions at the absolute mercy of the nobles. The bitter hatred the peasants felt to their oppressors rendered impossible a united effort to save Poland and is the chief explanation of the failure of the country to resist the aggression of its neighbours.

C. Religion.

Poland was Roman Catholic, but there were a number of Dissidents who included Protestants and members of the Greek Church. The Dissidents had once enjoyed full civil rights, but the Diet of 1290 had excised them from office.

D. Hostility of Russia and Prussia.

Poland had to face the hostility of neighbouring states in which powerful monarchs were establishing centralized governments.

(i) Russia.

Russia wished to become the chief Slav state in Europe and the champion of the Greek Church ; it was therefore opposed to Poland, which was the most influential Slav country, strongly Roman Catholic, a barrier to the expansion of Russia and a neighbour to the reorganization of Russia with Western Europe.

(ii) Prussia.

Prussia regarded herself as the successor of the Knights of the Teutonic Order, much of whose territory had been gained by Poland by the Peace of Thorn in 1466.¹ Poland still held West Prussia and thus divided Brandenburg from the Prussian provinces of East Prussia. Prussia as the supporter of Protestantism in Northern Germany was intensely hostile to Catholic Poland.

¹ *See* *European History*, Vol. I, page 284.

E. General.

"Poland had no ambassadors at foreign courts, the land had no fortresses, no navy, no roads, no arsenals, no treasury, no fixed revenue."¹

Poland represented "the legal organization of revolution"; it was utterly unable to resist the pressure of its powerful neighbours; after 1772 it was generally ruled by foreign kings imposed upon it from without; during the French Wars² it was occupied at pleasure by Russia. It was obvious that such a country was bound to break up, and the Partition of Poland had been foreseen as early as 1668 by John Casimir.

The Election of Stanislaus Poniatowski, 1764.

A. Russia and Prussia.

(1) Both support monarchy in Poland.

The development of Russia and Prussia sealed the doom of Poland. Both countries wished to extend their territory at the expense of Poland, which was utterly unable to offer effective opposition to either, partly because Russia and Prussia had long aimed at maintaining the anarchy of Poland in order to limit opposition to their own advance. Both countries supported the *Dissidents*; Catherine II posed as the champion of the members of the Greek Church, Frederick II of the Protestants.

(2) The alliance between Prussia and Russia, 1768 and 1781.

a. The isolation of the two countries.

1762. Frederick II and Peter III made a treaty to maintain existing conditions in Poland. After Peter's death Frederick and Catherine concluded the alliance.

Great Britain, under Pitt, had broken with Frederick; Austria desired to regain Silesia;

¹ Russell quoting von Moltke.

join their native. The Diet refused, but was terrorized by Russian troops, and in 1767 decided that the *Dzisidze* should be eligible for all offices, that the *shlachta* who should be maintained and that the monarchy should remain elective. Apparently Russia had defended religious liberty; really she had enslaved Poland.

The Catholic nobles now forced the Confederation of Bar; civil war broke out between the two Confederations. The Catholics appealed to France, the *Dzisidze* to Russia and Prussia.

III. Diplomacy, 1768-1772.

A. Growing fear of Russia.

(1) Frederick II.

Russia had strengthened her position by a treaty of friendship, commerce and navigation with Great Britain in June, 1768. An attempt was made to win over Saxony, and Frederick II feared that the "system of the North" at which Catherine was aiming might prove dangerous to Prussia.

(2) Charles.

Charles sent reinforcements under promises and money to the Confederates of Bar. Vergennes called the Turks, who declared war unexpectedly on Russia in October, 1768, because the Russians had pursued some of the Confederates of Bar into Turkish territory and burnt the Tartar town of Balta.

B. Austria and Prussia.

(1) Danger of a European War.

Turkey, which does much to provoke the Turkish war, was an ally of Austria; Frederick, the ally of Russia, was bound by the treaty of 1761 to help her, if necessary, and Russia, which was busy in Poland and greatly embarrassed by the Turkish War, demanded his active assistance.

(3) Desire for peace.

Frederick feared that Austria might take advantage of another European War to recover Silesia ; Frederick and Joseph II feared that if, as seemed likely, Prussia, which had recently captured Graudenz, should secure Poland she would become dangerous to Austria and Prussia ; Joseph viewed with alarm the possible extension of Russian influence along the Danube, but was unwilling to make an alliance against Russia with Turkey, the traditional enemy of Christendom.

Neither Austria nor Prussia wanted war, which was contrary to the interests of Germany. Frederick said, "We are Germans, what does it matter to us if the English and French fight for Canada and the American Islands . . . or if Turks and Russians seize one another by the hair." He therefore aimed at detaching Austria from France, which favoured the continuance of the Russo-Turkish War ; rejected Chaknali's proposal for a French alliance and desired to make an alliance between Austria, Russia and Prussia. But he was determined to take from Poland West Prussia and to make West and East Prussia and East Pomerania into a united kingdom.

(ii) Frederick ensures the Partition.

February, 1769. Frederick made suggestions to Russia for a Partition of Poland.

February, 1770. The Austrians having massed troops on their frontier entered Polish territory and took Zips, which Austria claimed as an old possession of Hungary. Austria had thus started the Partition of Poland. She was the first of the three Powers actually to occupy Polish territory.

August, 1772. A conference between Joseph and Frederick II at Neisse had no definite result except that Catherine II, fearing an alliance between Austria and Prussia, renewed the treaty of 1768 without requiring Frederick to help her against the Turks.

1768. The successes of the Russians on the Danube and the invasion of Moldavia and Wallachia made Austria more anxious to maintain friendly relations with Prussia and to stop the Russo-Turkish War. Consequent divergence of interest between Austria and France and separation of Western from Eastern Europe.

October, 1770—January, 1771. Frederick's brother, Prince Henry of Prussia, visited St. Petersburg, and his skilful negotiations made Catherine more willing to consider the question of the Partition of Poland.

By September, 1770, the Austrians had occupied portions of Poland to which they could advance no possible claim, and in July, 1771, Krasinski made a treaty with Turkey to occupy Bessarabia to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia.

The Russians had defeated the Confederates of Bar under Duzkoher at Lachkow in 1771, and although the latter secured Crasow later, Poland was now defenceless.

But Russia was now exhausted and asked for the co-operation of Frederick II in Poland. The fall of Chotimir in December, 1770, had deprived France of all influence; Catherine at the end of 1771 promised to give up the Duchy of Prussia if she received compensation in Poland, and thus showed her readiness to meet the wishes of Austria. Frederick, who had occupied part of West Prussia, skilfully seized the opportunity and induced Russia to agree to evacuate Moldavia and Wallachia and to join Austria and Prussia in the First Partition of Poland.

IV. The Partitions.

A. Terms.

August, 1772. The First Partition of Poland was concluded "in the name of the Holy Trinity."

(1) Austria.

Austria received Silesia, which was incorporated with Hungary, Red Russia (or East Galicia) with Lemberg, and the northern portion of Little Poland.

(2) Russia.

Russia received Polish Livonia and White Russia along the rivers Dvina and Dnieper.

(3) Prussia.

Prussia received Ermland and West Prussia although not Danzig and Thorn. Poland was deprived of twenty-five thousand square miles (about one-third of its territory) and five million inhabitants (one-half of its population) by the Partition.

The Partition was accepted in April, 1772, by a hibited Diet, which to avoid the appearance of having resolved itself into a Confederation, and finally settled in March, 1773, by treatise between Poland and her three adversaries which formally ended the confiscated lands, declared the Crown elective and tenable only by a native Pole, and appointed an Executive Council.

B. Criticism.

(1) A vast national crime.

For the action of Austria no justification could be pleaded. Frederick II rightly asserted that West Prussia had once been under German rule, and Catherine maintained that White Russia, "with its mighty Russian and Orthodox population," was not really Polish. There was no doubt that the neutrality of Poland made her a troublesome neighbour. But the Partition was a great national crime.

a. An act of pure force.

The doctrine of territorial sovereignty which had been accepted as the foundation of the public law of Europe by the Peace of Westphalia¹ was now set aside. "Force and con-

¹ *Note on European History*, Vol. II, page 614.

opinacy were unblinkingly substituted for the law of the sovereign in the relations of sovereign states.¹⁰ The policy which led to the Partition "developed naturally into a system of universal conquest, and thus . . . marks the beginning of the European revolution."¹¹

b. An expression of Absolutism.

The Partition was an expression of the belief that the will of the sovereign is law and thus represented the working out to its logical conclusion of the principle of Absolute Government of which Louis XIV had been the great exponent. It showed, too, an utter disregard for the principle of Nationality.

Maria Theresa, though compelled by her ministers to accept the Partition, declared that it was "a violation of all that has hitherto been held just and sacred." The Partition was strongly resented by other nations, but the commercial interests of Great Britain in the Baltic and the financial embarrassment of Prussia prevented these countries from offering strong opposition. D'Aguesseau in vain tried to persuade Louis XV to attack the Austrian Netherlands; Great Britain refused to join Prussia in a naval demonstration in the Baltic.

(c) A Russian mistake.

Russia had established her influence in Poland during the Seven Years' War, and under Stanislaus Poniatowski, who depended upon Russian support, Poland might easily have become a vassal state of Russia. By agreeing to the Partition instead of maintaining the integrity of Poland, Russia greatly strengthened her rivals Prussia and Austria, weakened

¹⁰ Dr. D. J. HILL.

¹¹ Russell.

the Slave element in Eastern Europe, put difficulties in the way of her future extension, insured the formality of Poland.

(3) The future of Poland.

Poland was not destroyed by the Partition, although the old idea of a Greater Poland extending from the Baltic to the Black Sea now became impossible. The misery from which Poland suffered later was due not to the Partition, but to her own inability to make such constitutional reforms as would have made her a strong and united nation.

References :

- The Balance of Power* (Hassall), Rivingtons, chap. xi.
A History of European Diplomacy (Hill), Longmans, Vol. III,
 chaps. viii, Section II.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xxx.
Story of the Nations. Poland (Marshall), Fisher Unwin.
Joseph II (Bright), Macmillan, chaps. I, II.

RUSSIA AND TURKEY,¹ 1768-1792

Catherine II continued the traditional policy of Russia and desired to conquer the Crimea and thus to obtain an outlet on the Black Sea, with free navigation for Russian vessels; to make the Danube the northern boundary of Russia; to take Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey and bring them under Russian influence; to establish new states in Turkish territory which should be dependent on Russia; to add the Caucasus to Russia.

This policy was regarded with disfavour by other nations. Sweden, Poland and Prussia thought that the success of Catherine's plan would make Russia a dangerous neighbour, and although Frederick II had promised, by the treaty of 1762, to help Russia against Turkey, he proved unwilling to fulfil his

¹ See page 179.

provinces; Austria feared that if Russia conquered Turkey her own expansion eastwards along the Danube Valley would be checked; France, the old ally of Turkey, strongly objected to the Russian policy.

I. The First Turkish War, 1736-1739.

Catherine II had endeavoured since 1735 to seize Greece, Montenegro and Bosnia against the Turks, but tried by bribing Turkish ministers to arrest intervention by Turkey during the struggle for the Polish Crown. But the Sultan, Mustapha III (1737-1754), was anxious to take advantage of the favourable opportunity, the Poles appealed to Turkey for aid and Vergennes, the French ambassador at Constantinople, urged Mustapha to help them.

A. The outbreak of war.

July, 1736. Some Russian troops invaded Polish Confederation into Turkish territory and burnt the Tartar town of Balta. Catherine made apology, but the growing success of the Russians in Poland, and particularly their capture of Orzow, alarmed the Turks; Vergennes' diplomacy proved successful, and by his advice Turkey declared war on October 4th, 1736, because "Russia has dared to destroy the liberties of Poland; has forced the Poles to recognise as King a person not of royal blood, nor designated by the will of the people."

The Polish and Eastern questions were thus combined; Turkey posed as the defender of political liberty in Poland, where Russia claimed to act as the defender of religion.

B. The War.

Both Turks and Russians were ill prepared for war, and Frederick II declared that it was a fight between the blind and the one-eyed. He was anxious to prevent Germany from being drawn in and wished to be free to

take advantage of any opportunity that the struggle between Turkey and Russia might afford him of protecting the interests of Prussia; he therefore did not send the help he had promised to Russia.

(I) The Crimea and the Danubian Principalities.

July, 1768. The Khan of the Crimean Tartars invaded New Servia and showed the need of crushing these dangerous enemies of Russia.

September, 1768. The Russians occupied Moldavia and Wallachia and took Khotin, Arad, Tigranag and, in October, Bucharest.

1770. Capture of Bender, Ismail and Azerman by the Russians.

1771. The Russians took Eupatoria and Taganrog and secured the Crimea.

(2) Greece.

Greece had made treaties against Turkey with the Greeks of the Morea, and a fleet was sent from Cronstadt. The Greeks of the Morea rose in revolt, and the Russian fleet under Alexei Orloff annihilated the Turkish fleet at Tekamah on July 14th, 1770, mainly owing to the skill of Orloff's English subordinates.

(3) Diplomacy.

The success of the Russians alarmed Austria. The fall of Ghelzoi in December, 1770, had deprived Turkey of any chance of effective aid from France; Turkey accepted, but Russia rejected, the mediation of Austria and Prussia; Turkey therefore sought an alliance with Austria, and on July 6th, 1771, a secret treaty was made by which Austria agreed "to deliver from the hands of Russia" Moldavia and Wallachia. Frederick II, who still abstained from active intervention in the war, fearing that the alliance between Austria and Turkey might lead to an extension of the war, induced Catherine to agree to

surrender Moldavia and Wallachia, and Austria to abstain from war with Russia, by giving each a share in the Partition of Poland.¹

(2) The end of the war.

The removal of the danger of Austrian intervention and the settlement of the Polish question strengthened the Russians, and Catherine appointed a new Khan of the Tartars who acknowledged her authority. She now aimed at securing Constantinople, and the Turks therefore refused to agree to terms of peace offered at Bucharest in 1773.

The defeat of the Russians, who were compelled to cross the Danube, the dangerous revolt of the Cossacks of the Don under Popovitch, and a rising of the Tartars seriously embarrassed Catherine; but the Russians under Rumyantsev were successful in the campaign of 1774, and the Turks were compelled to agree to the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji.

C. The Treaty of Kuchuk-Kainardji, July, 1774.

(1) Terms.

Russia ceded to Turkey Bessarabia, Moldavia, Wallachia and the islands of the Archipelago, but kept Azoff, Kothardis and Kerisch and Yenikala in the Crimea, and gained the right for Russian ships of free navigation in Turkish waters and the use of Turkish harbours.

The Tartars of the Crimea were declared independent, subject to the Sultan only as head of their religion.

Religious liberty was granted to the Greek subjects of the Turks, and Russian subjects were allowed to visit Jerusalem and there to practise the rites of their religion.

Poland, the immediate cause of the war, was not mentioned.

¹ Page 182.

(2) Criticism.

The treaty was a great triumph for Russia. The independence of the Tartars was merely a step towards their subjugation by Russia; the possession of Kubardin gave Russia a hold on the eastern coast of the Black Sea and in the Caucasus; Russia gained an outlet to the sea in the South, and the right of sailing through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles gave her free access to the Mediterranean; Russia had established her position as the official champion of the Greek Church and thus assured the right of perpetual intervention in Turkey.

The treaty "marks the definite beginning of the Eastern Question" and of the Slave crusade against Turkey which has profoundly influenced later history. But it was only a beginning; Catherine still hoped to dismember Turkey, to form a Greek Empire for her nephew Constantine and a kingdom of Dalmatia for Potocki. These aims necessitated close agreement with Austria and tended to weaken the connection between Russia and Prussia.

Austria took advantage of the weakness of the Turks to seize the Banovina in 1774, and it seemed as if Turkey was doomed to dismemberment. It survived because the jealousy of the Eastern Powers prevented any one of them from dealing the final blow.

II. The Annexation of the Crimea, 1783.

a. Relations with Prussia and Austria.

(1) Prussia.

Frederick II, realising that if war broke out between Austria and Russia an alliance with Turkey would prove valuable for Prussia, was opposed to any partition of Turkey, had refused to intervene in the recent war and now proposed that an alliance should be made between Prussia, Russia, Poland and Turkey. Prussia, a strong supporter of the Prussian alliance, did

not favour Catherine's schemes against Turkey and was succeeded as Foreign Minister by Catherine's latest lover, the giant Gregory Potemkin, who was bitterly hostile to Turkey. His appointment in 1783 marks the end of the Russo-Prussian alliance of 1772.

(3) Austria.

Joseph II counted the intervention of Vergennes in the Bavarian quarrel¹ which weakened the friendship between France and Austria.

He wished to secure the support of Russia for his schemes of annexing Bavaria, of reviving the old glories of the Holy Roman Empire, of strengthening Austrian influence in Italy. He knew well that the alliance between Prussia and Russia, which had been so important factor in the Peace of Teschen, 1779,² was contrary to the interests of Austria.

June, 1781. Alliance between Austria and Russia. Joseph II promised not to oppose Catherine's designs on Turkey and to help Catherine if the Turks invaded Russia.

B. The Crimea, 1783.

The Tartars of the Crimea were divided into two parties, one seeking to maintain the independence accorded by the Treaty of Kuchuk-Kaimarit, the other to establish the authority of Russia in the Crimea.

1783. Potemkin sent an army under Suvaroff, who restored the Khan Schahin, whom the Turks had deposed, and persuaded Schahin to acknowledge Catherine's supremacy.

April, 1783. A Russian massacre announced the separation of the Crimea and Kuban. Schahin, who resisted, was beaten; the opposition of the Tartars was crushed and at least 30,000 were massacred. Joseph had not assisted in the Russian operations as he was bound to help Russia only if the Turks invaded her.

¹ Page 174.

² Page 172.

territory, but he had intimidated Turkey by sending troops on her frontier. Potemkin, called the "Tzarina," became Governor-General of the Crimea and Kuban and General-Admiral of the Black Sea. "Now at last Russia had won a firm and safe southern frontier."

January, 1783. By the Convention of Constantinople the Turks agreed to the acquisition of the Crimea by Russia.

C. Catherine's journey to the Crimea, 1787.

Catherine still hoped to carry out her plan for the establishment of a Greek Empire for her grandson Constantine, for whom she obtained Greek tutors, while instruction in Greek was provided in Russian military schools.

Under Potemkin's brutal rule the Crimea was devastated and the population rapidly declined.

1787. Catherine, accompanied by Joseph II, who travelled incognito, visited the Crimea. To hide the nakedness of the land Potemkin erected temporary villages along her route and filled them with peasants wearing holiday attire and brought from a distance. Catherine was impressed by the apparent prosperity of the Crimea and rejoiced to find that a naval port had been established at Sebastopol, only two days' journey from Constantinople.

III. The Second Turkish War, 1787-1792.

Neither Catherine nor Joseph wanted war with Turkey; the former feared that such a war would induce Prussia and Sweden to attack Russia, the latter that it would prevent him from dealing with difficulties that had arisen in the Austrian Netherlands. But Catherine's recent journey disconcerted the Turks, who had resented the Russian occupation of the Crimea and feared that the Russians, who had established their influence over Georgia in 1783, would seize the whole of the Caucasus.

¹ The Caucasus was formerly called the Tartic Caucasus.

A. The Declaration of War.

(1) Turkey.

August 17th, 1787. Turkey declared war on Russia and hoped to secure the help of Prussia, Great Britain and France, all of whom viewed with alarm the growing power of Russia which seemed likely to affect, in particular, British commercial interests in the Mediterranean. But the death of Vergennes, on February 12th, weakened France, which, while remaining neutral in the war, still had strong sympathy with Turkey.

(2) Austria.

February 9th, 1788. Joseph II declared war on Turkey. He hoped to recover Moldavia and Wallachia, and to regain the position Austria had lost by the Peace of Belgrade, 1739.¹

(3) Sweden.

June, 1788. Sweden declared war against Russia.

B. The war.

(1) 1788.

a. The Austrians.

The Austrians overran Moldavia and took Chocim, but failed to take Belgrade and were defeated at Slatina. The Swedish War prevented Russia from giving more than moderate help to Austria.

b. The Russians.

The Russians defeated the Turkish fleet in the Liman, and Suvorov took Ochakoff, December 17th, 1788.

(2) 1789.

a. The Austrians.

The Austrians and Russians routed the Turks at Fehracy, July 31st, 1789, on the Rynartca

¹ Page 186.

September 22nd, 1789; London, the Austrian general, captured Belgrade on October 9th, 1789, and overran Serbia; Coburg took Bucharest and the Austrians secured the passes into Wallachia.

b. The Russians.

The Russians routed the Turks at Ismail on September 20th, 1789, and Tokat, and took Bender on November 14th.

The overthrow of Turkey seemed imminent; it was saved by the intervention of the Triple Alliance of Prussia, Holland and Great Britain and by the revolt of the Austrian Netherlands.

February 29th, 1790. Death of Joseph II.

August, 1790. Treaty of Varsla between Russia and Sweden.

September, 1790. Treaty of Orléans between Austria and Turkey.

(c) 1790-1791.

After Austria had withdrawn from the war the Russians, no longer in danger of Swedish attack, continued their successes. Corradi took Ismail on December 22nd, 1790; an indecisive naval battle was fought off Temlik in July, 1790, but the Russians defeated the Turkish fleet at Rebartspel in September. In 1791 Prince Repnin routed the Turks at Mochka and the Russians overran part of Kuban and defeated the Turkish fleet off Kara Bayaz.

c. Negotiations.

(i) Prussia.

Frederick William II welcomed the Russo-Turkish war, which he thought would enable him more easily to add to Prussia Dantzig, Thorn and Posa. He made an alliance with Turkey in February and with Poland in March, 1790. Prussia had been strengthened

by her recognition in 1786 as leader of the Habsburg bond, had made an alliance in 1788 with Holland and Great Britain, which viewed with alarm the extension of Russia, and were on friendly terms with Sweden. Hungary and the Austrian Netherlands were in revolt against Austria. A war party in Prussia favored war with Austria in the hope of securing part of Bohemia and Moravia, and there seemed a danger of a European war. But the Poles resented the designs of Prussia on Danzig and Thorn. Leopold adopted a conciliatory policy; Great Britain and Holland were strongly opposed to any extension of the war.

a. Hartiberg's scheme.

Hartiberg was anxious to make Prussia the mediator of Europe. He therefore induced Frederick William II to abstain from active intervention on behalf of Turkey, asserting that Prussia had helped Turkey by compelling the Austrians to keep on their northern frontier, to guard against a Prussian invasion, troops which might have fought against the Turks.

He proposed that Turkey should give up Moldavia and Wallachia to Austria, and the Crimea and Bessarabia to Russia, receiving in return a European guarantee of the integrity of the rest of her territory; that Austria should give Galicia to Poland, who should give Danzig and Thorn to Prussia; that Russia should restore part of Finland to Sweden, who should give to Prussia the part of Pomerania she still held. Leopold refused to surrender Galicia and threatened to renew the old alliance of Austria with Prussia; the Habsburg Powers refused to sanction Hartiberg's foolish scheme; the Turks refused to give up Moldavia and Wallachia.

6. The Convention of Reichenbach, July, 1790.

Frederick William II was now isolated, saw the impossibility of carrying out Hertzeberg's scheme and, with the assistance of the Triple Alliance, made with Leopold the Convention of Reichenbach, July 27th, 1790. By the Convention Austria agreed to give back all her conquests and make peace with Turkey, to secure their old constitutional rights to the Austrian Netherlands; Prussia recognised the supremacy of Austria in the Netherlands, gave up her designs on Dantzig and Thorn, but was to receive compensation in Poland if Austria annexed any Turkish territory.

The Convention, a triumph for Austria and the Maritime Nations, was a great blow for Prussia; "it marks the first retreat from the policy of Frederick the Great and the first step in the decline of Prussia."¹ Her allies Sweden, Poland and Turkey came under the influence of Austria, which, in spite of the Convention, crushed the rebellion in the Netherlands and secured Oryova from Turkey in 1791; it led to the participation of Prussia in the Revolutionary Wars and the Second and Third Partitions of Poland; it made European interference in France possible, and thus probably changed the whole course of the French Revolution; it ended the Austro-Russian alliance and deprived Russia of her only ally at a time when she was at war with Sweden and Turkey; it helped to re-establish Austrian supremacy in Germany and arrested for many years the inevitable struggle of Prussia and Austria for supremacy in Germany. The Convention of Reichenbach thus "marks a turning-point in the history of Europe."

¹ Lodge

(2) Austria.

Austria made a truce with the Turks at Ochakov in September, 1792, and peace was made, through the mediation of the Triple Alliance, at Sistova in August, 1791. Turkey kept Moldavia and Wallachia, but Austria by a secret agreement obtained Crisovo.

(3) Russia.

The Triple Alliance urged Catherine II., like Austria, to surrender her conquests; her refusal to surrender Ochakov led Prussia and Great Britain to prepare for war, but Pitt gave way, and by the Treaty of Jassy, January 9th, 1792, Russia made peace with Turkey and received Ochakov, the fortifications of which were to be demolished; the Danube became the boundary between Turkey and Russia. But Catherine's wider schemes of expelling the Turks from Europe, establishing a Greek Empire at Constantinople and a Christian Balkan Kingdom had failed.

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, chaps. XII, XIII; Vol. VII, chap. xx.
The Balance of Power (Haworth), Kingtons, chap. xx.
Revolutionary Europe (Korn-Stephens), Kingtons, chap. III.
Russia (Morill), Unwin, chap. IX.
Joseph II (Beight), Macmillan and Co., chaps. I, II.

THE SECOND AND THIRD PARTITIONS
OF POLAND

I. The Second Partition.

A. Reform.

(1) A favourable opportunity, 1772.

By the First Partition in 1772 Poland became dependent on Russia, and the patriotic party, which

aimed at re-opening the constitution as the first step towards securing national freedom, could do nothing owing to the alliance between Prussia and Russia. Their position was improved by the termination of that alliance in 1791; by the conclusion in 1791 of a new alliance between Russia and Austria which was more friendly to Poland than Prussia; by the declaration of war against Russia by Turkey in 1797 and Sweden in 1798; by the formation of the Triple Alliance in 1798,¹ which aimed at checked the ambition of Russia and Austria.

(2) The Reforms of 1791.

The Four Years' Diet, 1788-1792, met in October, 1790; formed itself into a Confederation to avoid the Warsaw vote; compelled Russia, now hard pressed by Turkey and Sweden, to withdraw the troops she had quartered in Poland since 1772; and resolved to make a treaty with Prussia.

(3) Delay.

Unfortunately the work of reform was delayed by King Stanislaus' fear of Russia; by Polish distrust of Prussia's designs on Danzig and Thorn; by the opposition of the friends of Russia to constitutional reform; by the reluctance of the nobles to admit to the Diet the representatives of towns. By March, 1791, when the treaty with Prussia was concluded, the Polish alliance had become of little value to Prussia, because the break-up of the alliance between Austria and Russia had strengthened the position of France, which now again opposed constitutional reform in Poland.

(4) The Reforms of 1791.

Obstruction delayed reform, but King Stanislaus on May 2nd, 1791, by a clever surprise, induced the Diet to accept a new constitution which provided that

¹ Page 208

the Crown should be hereditary in the family of the Elector of Saxony; that the King should control the army and the executive; that the Diet should have the right of legislation; that the liberum veto and right of Confederacy should be abolished; that Roman Catholicism should be the established religion, but that all creeds should be tolerated.

B. The attitude of the Powers.

(1) Russia.

Catherine II strongly resisted the reforms; the conclusion of the Peace of Varsova with Sweden in August, 1790, and the preliminaries of peace with Turkey in August, 1791, left her free to deal with Poland; but the alliance of Austria and Prussia concluded by the Treaty of Reichenbach in July, 1790, and the fact that the two allies agreed in 1791 to guarantee the integrity of Poland, made her hesitate to take action. She therefore tried to induce Prussia and Austria to take up arms against France to prevent them from intervening in Poland.

(2) Prussia.

By the treaty of 1790 Frederick William II had guaranteed the integrity of Polish territory; in July, 1790, in the preliminary treaty with Austria he had guaranteed "the free constitution of Poland"; in May, 1791, he congratulated the Diet on its "firm and decisive conduct."

But Frederick William really disapproved of the union of Poland, which was contrary to Prussian interests and was determined to get Danzig and Thorn. The possibility of war with Russia in May, 1790, compelled him to maintain a friendly attitude towards Poland, but the removal of this danger led him to show hostility which was in striking contrast to his previous attitude and was resented as gross perfidy by the Poles.

(3) Austria.

Leopold II witnessed the prospect of the establishment of a strong Roman Catholic state in Poland which might check Russia and Prussia and would support Roman Catholicism in North Germany.

C. Prussia attacks Poland.

In the early part of 1793 the position of Poland became precarious. Austria strongly resisted the acquisition by Frederick William II of Anspach and Bayreuth, which strengthened the influence of Prussia in Southern Germany; on renewing the treaty with Austria in February, 1793, Frederick William guaranteed only "a free constitution for Poland"; Catherine II made peace with the Turks at Jassy in January, 1792; Leopold II, the chief supporter of the new order in Poland, died on March 1st, 1792; and on April 20th, 1793, the Girardin ministry declared war against Austria and invaded the Austrian Netherlands.

May, 1793. The Russian party in Poland, led by Rzaniki and Potocki, made the Confederation of Targowice to restore the old constitution and asked for Russian intervention; two Russian armies invaded Poland.

The Poles appealed for help to Prussia, but Frederick William II absolutely refused to fulfil his promises; Austria was too busy with the French war to intervene; the Poles offered heroic resistance, but the Russians defeated Poniatowski at Zahlen on June 17th, 1793, and Koscinski at Dubienka on July 17th, and in six weeks conquered Poland. The reformers were exiled; the Diet annulled the recent reforms and restored the old constitution.

D. The Second Partition.

(1) The weakness of Austria.

Austria, which now abandoned Poland, and Prussia agreed with Russia that the old constitution of Poland

should be restored. Both sought a share in the spoil; Prussia offered to sanction the exchange of the Austrian Netherlands for Bavaria if Austria would allow her to annex part of Poland; Austria refused to agree to this offer, which meant an immediate extension of territory for Prussia but not for herself, unless Prussia surrendered Anspach and Bayreuth as the price of her agreement.

But the outbreak of the war with France compelled Austria to rely on Prussian help, and Prussia declared war on France on July 24th, 1792. The defeat of the Austrians by Dumourier at Jemappes on November 6th enabled Frederick William, by the threat of withdrawing from the French war to compel Austria to allow both she and Prussia to make a separate agreement about Poland.

January, 1793. Frederick William sent a Prussian army under Hohenlohe into Poland to "crush French revolutionary doctrines in Poland."

(2) Russia and Prussia make the Second Partition, 1793.

January 23rd, 1793. Russia and Prussia made the Second Partition of Poland by which Russia received Eastern Poland, including Mazak, Podolia, Volhynia and Little Russia; Prussia received Danzig, Thorn, Posen, Gdansk and Kalisch. Russia got four times as much territory and twice as many new subjects as Prussia; Austria got nothing except a vague promise that Russia and Prussia would facilitate the exchange of the Netherlands for Bavaria; Prussia promised to continue the war with France.

The Diet, meeting at Grodno, refused to sanction the Partition; Prussia suspected Austria of encouraging the opposition of the Diet.

September 25th, 1793. The "Silent Diet," although the patriots had been excluded, and although those present had been heavily bribed and were overawed by Russian soldiers, refused to discuss the

question of Partition. Their silence was taken as consent.

November, 1793. The Diet made a treaty of alliance with Russia and formally rescinded all recent measures of reform.

(2) Criticism.

The Partition revealed the shamelessness of the three Powers and their utter distrust of one another.

Austria strongly resented the Partition, which had been made without her approval and which brought Russian territory into touch with Austria's dominions. She was particularly incensed with Prussia, and the Partition increased the feeling of hostility between these two Powers. She declared that she did not consent to the Partition, but was too busily engaged in the Netherlands to take active steps.

Russia had strengthened her influence in Poland. King Stanislaus became "a mere agent of the Russian minister at Warsaw," and the treaty of November, 1793, would facilitate further aggression on what was left of Poland. Turkey feared that Russia, strengthened by her recent acquisitions, would seek a further extension of territory in the South, but was too weak to go to war again with Russia.

The contest for the spoil of Poland had weakened the efforts of the Allies in the West. It had led Frederick William II to recall his troops after the battle of Valmy for service in Poland, if necessary, and prevented the Allies from following up the successes they gained in the early part of 1793¹ and from taking advantage of dissension in Paris and the revolts in La Vendée.

II. The Third Partition of Poland.

A. The Polish Rising.

The Poles bitterly resented the recent Partition and formed secret societies to regain their independence and

¹ Page 387.

establish the desired constitutional reforms. But for success foreign help was essential and France and Turkey were unable to help, and, although Sweden promised assistance, she was not strong enough to resist Prussia and Prussia.

March, 1794. An order of the Russian general to disperse Polish troops was the immediate cause of the rising. Czajew drove out his Russian garrison; Kościuszko returned and routed the Russians on April 4th, 1794, at Radziwillow; the Russians were driven out of Warsaw on April 19th, and Wilna.

C. The intervention of Prussia.

Prussia was exhausted by the strain of war in the West and in Poland and desired to withdraw from the war against France, but was induced to promise, by the Treaty of The Hague on April 19th, 1794, to supply a large force against France which was to be paid for by subsidies from Great Britain.

The rising in Poland prevented Frederick William from carrying out his undertaking, and "France was able to seize the Netherlands and to drive the Allies from the left bank of the Rhine, because the two great military Powers of the Coalition fixed their gaze, not on the city of Brussels or Mainz, but on that of Czajew and Warsaw."¹

Frederick William II entered Poland, routed Kościuszko at Rawka on June 6th, 1794, and took Warsaw on June 25th. Kościuszko retreated to Warsaw, which, owing to the lack of energy with which Frederick William besieged it, held out successfully.

Frederick William, fearing that a rising in the newly annexed territory would endanger his communications, retired from Warsaw on September 6th, 1794.

C. The Russians take Warsaw.

The Russians under Suvaroff invaded Poland. Kościuszko was routed and captured by Tscherny at

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VII, page 561.

Mazirjowice on October 10th, 1794; Suvorov took Praga, a suburb of Warsaw, on November 4th and massacred the inhabitants; he entered Warsaw on November 8th.

Russia, not Prussia, had finally suppressed the Polish rising; but Prussia, in spite of her failure at Warsaw, had taken the strength of the rising. Austria had invaded Poland from the South, but had had no fighting.

D. The Third Partition.

(1) Agreement between Austria and Russia.

The Russian success gave Catherine the power of deciding the terms of settlement. The possibility of further warfare against Turkey, the fact that Poland was now crushed, her personal dislike of Frederick William II, her resentment at his action in withdrawing Prussian troops which had been fighting France in the West, made her decide to give to Austria, and not to Prussia as in 1793, a large share of the spoil, including Cracow, which the Prussians still held.

In January, 1795, Russia and Austria made a secret treaty by which they agreed to help each other in case of war with Prussia or Turkey; Austria accepted the settlement of 1793, and Russia promised to help her to get compensation from France or Venice for the limited areas she received by the Second Partition of Poland.

(2) Prussia isolated.

Prussia was now isolated; her prestige and power had been diminished by her failure in Champagne in 1793 and her retreat from Warsaw in 1794, and suspicion of the unfriendly designs of Russia and Austria led her to conclude the Treaty of Breda with France on April 5th, 1795.

E. Terms of Partition.

October 28th, 1795. It was finally arranged in the Third Partition of Poland that Russia should receive the

land between Galicia and the lower Drina, including about two thousand square miles; Austria received Cosenz, which the Prussians surrendered with great reluctance, and the rest of Galicia, about one thousand square miles; Prussia received Warsaw and the land between the Bug and the Neman, about seven hundred square miles. By the final treaty of January 26th, 1793, the three Powers asserted "the necessity of abolishing everything which may recall the memory of the existence of the Kingdom of Poland."

The hostility of her three great neighbours rendered the downfall of Poland inevitable. But its ruin was accelerated by the impossibility of uniting all classes in the defense of their country. The resistance to the Partition was the work of a few nobles and peasants supported by the small burgher class; the serfs, the great majority of the population, were too ignorant and degraded to assist their efforts; in Poland there was no united national effort such as ensured the success of the French Revolution.

[Maria, 1796. Rizza, the last Duke of Courland, abdicated in favour of Catherine and Courland became a Russian province.]

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VII, chap. xvii.

Revolutionary Europe (Moss-Sheppar), Hingham, pp. 121-122, 153-155.

Modern Europe (Dyer and Bassett), George Bell, Vol. V, chap. xviii.

CATHERINE II

Catherine II continued the work of Peter the Great and aimed at extending Russian territory and at making Russia European.

I. Territorial Expansion.

Catherine desired to increase the territory of Russia in order that Russia might become one of the great Powers of Europe, and to assert the strength of Russia in the interests of Russia.

A. New territory.

By the Treaties of Kastov-Kishinev¹ in 1774 and Jassy² in 1792, by the three Partitions of Poland in 1772,³ 1793⁴ and 1796,⁵ Catherine had added about two hundred and twenty thousand square miles and about seven million inhabitants to the Russian Empire. She said she had "come to Russia empty handed, but had won Turkey and Poland as her dowry."

She did not succeed in crushing Sweden, in expelling the Turks from Europe and establishing a Greek Empire on the ruins of Turkey, in bringing Persia under Russian influence.

But she emphasized the position of Russia as the leading state on the Baltic, broke up the Kingdom of Poland, which hampered her extension to the West, and secured for Russia an outlet on the Black Sea and free access to the Mediterranean.

B. Foreign policy.

The territorial schemes of Catherine, who aimed at crushing Sweden, Poland and Turkey, determined her foreign policy.

(1) Possible opponents.

These schemes were sure to lead to strong opposition from other countries. The extension of the power of Russia threatened the safety and hindered the expansion of Prussia on the Baltic, of Austria along the Danube. France, the old ally of Sweden, Poland and Turkey, resented any attempt to weaken them.

¹ Page 220.

² Page 209.

³ Page 164.

⁴ Page 312.

⁵ Page 316.

(2) Prussia and Austria.

By skilfully playing off Prussia against Austria Catherine lessened the danger from these two Powers which were in a position to do her most harm. From 1764-1769 she made the alliance with Prussia the main basis of her foreign policy; in 1781 she re-entered an alliance with Austria, as the support of Austria was necessary for her designs on the Crimea; in 1790 she made the Treaty of Varsia and so ended the war with Sweden which was seriously hindering her efforts against Turkey; she favoured Prussia in the Second Partition of Poland in 1793, and Austria in the Third in 1795. She did all she could to ensure the active participation of Austria and Prussia in the war against Revolutionary France because such participation would leave her free to carry out her designs in Eastern Europe.

(3) Great Britain.

She realised that Great Britain could help her but little, as Britain was concerned mainly with the development of her colonial policy and with her struggle with France. The interests of Britain in Eastern Europe were mainly commercial, and although in the early part of her reign Catherine maintained friendly relations, the countries did not enter into close alliances. Towards the end of her reign Catherine's relations with Great Britain were less friendly; she took an active part in forming the Armed Neutrality of 1780, although she refused to support the cause of the Americans; her policy in the east was opposed by the younger Pitt in 1782.¹

(4) Prussia.

Although Catherine was strongly affected by the "Philosophes," friendly relations were impossible with Prussia, which opposed her Eastern policy.

¹ Page 266.² Page 267.

Catherine, as an absolute monarch, strongly disapproved of the French Revolution, but she did not join the Coalitions against France ; when Prussia and Austria took up arms she seized the opportunity to further her schemes in the East and thus helped the Revolution by compelling Prussia and Austria to devote some of their attention and energy to the East.

(2) *Russia.*

She made Russia a great power in Europe. "I came to Russia," she said, "a poor girl with three or four dresses, and Russia has dressed me richly. But I have paid her back with Azof, the Crimea and the Ukraine." The new status of the country was clearly shown during the War of the Bavarian Succession, 1778, when both Prussia and Austria appealed to her and both thanked her for her mediation, which was the main factor in concluding the Treaty of Teschen in 1779.

II. Internal Policy.

A. Centralised administration.

By 1775 Catherine's position as absolute monarch was assured.

(i) *The bureaucracy.*

In so great a country the administration depended largely upon the civil bureaucracy, but the bureaucracy was dependent on the will of the Sovereign, and Catherine "is the main who her own Minister, Chancellor and Imperial Council."¹

(ii) *The Church.*

The Church was rich and powerful. Its hostility had hampered Peter the Great and contributed to the overthrow of Peter III²; massacres were numerous, and the Church had a million souls on its rolls. Catherine regularised the Church lands, which,

together with the serfs, became the property of the State, from which monks and priests likewise received their incomes.

(3) The nobles.

The nobles who attended Catherine's brilliant Court received the highest appointments in the State and army, and dutiful service was rewarded with large grants of land. They were exempted from taxation, exercised uncontrolled authority over their serfs and were responsible to the State for the due performance by the serfs of military service. Catherine's policy ensured the continuance of the nobility as a privileged class and the leaders of society, but nobles, as such, were of no political importance.

(4) The extension of Great Russia.

Catherine's plan of absolute monopoly involved the extinction of local privileges which limited the exercise of the central authority.

By the appointment of Imperial governors in 1762 she strengthened the direct power of the Crown over the Baltic provinces ; in 1764 she abolished the office of Hetman of the Ukraine and appointed an Imperial governor and governing bodies ; in 1775 she superseded the Cossack Commissaries of Sich and appointed Imperial instead of local authorities.

The task of " Russifying " Poland and completing the " Russification " of the Ukraine was not completed in Catherine's life.

B. Attempts at reform.

(1) Local organisation.

The organisation of efficient local administration, dependent ultimately on the monarch, was essential for the proper government of Russia.

1775. Catherine divided Russia into Provinces each under a Governor-General. Provinces were divided into circles, and circles into districts, each with its

own local organization which was to be exercised by the whole people acting in Estates. The new arrangement imposed local government, but, owing to the power of the bureaucracy and to the great increase in the local power of the nobles which resulted from the Letter of Grace of 1762, did not result in the establishment of effective local government based on the co-operation of all classes.

(2) Legislative reform.

The laws were numerous and confused, and the need of a regular codification was obvious. Catherine appointed a Legislative Commission elected by representatives of each class of the people except the Church and the serfs on private estates. For the guidance of the Commission she published in 1767 *Imprescriptio... or Nizhet*, laying down the general principles the will be followed.

The adoption of the principle of popular election in Russia aroused great interest, but the Turkish War of 1768-1774 interrupted proceedings and the Commission, which did not meet after 1768, accomplished nothing.

(3) Serfdom.

Catherine, the disciple of Voltaire and Rousseau, professed to favour the abolition of serfdom and she improved the lot of serfs on the royal domains. But the influence of the nobles prevented her from improving the condition of serfs on their estates; the authority of the nobles over their serfs was strengthened, and the serfs were not as really subjects of Russia as chattels of the nobles. Serfdom was introduced into Little Russia in 1763. The rebellion of Pugachev (1773-1775), which greatly added to the difficulties of Catherine in the Turkish War, was partly a rising against their lords of serfs, many of whom were brutally treated; partly a rising of Cossacks against Russian rule.

(1) Education, Science, Literature.

Catherine founded some schools and proposed to establish a State school in every circle; she promoted public health by founding hospitals and allowed herself to be inoculated against smallpox. Under her patronage Russian literature flourished; a national drama was created; Kersakoff wrote epic poetry; Vain siner; Derzhavin wrote poems to commemorate the military successes of the reign.

D. General.

(1) Obstacles to reforms.

But Catherine's reforms met with only a small measure of success. The dishonesty of officials, the privileges of the nobles, the deafness of the bureaucracy, the ignorance of the peasantry, poverty and alienation.

(2) Reaction.

Catherine strongly opposed the French Revolution and the domestic policy of her later years was reactionary; in 1793 she adopted a policy of protection in place of the more liberal policy she had hitherto followed in regard to commerce; Radishoff was exiled to Siberia for revealing the deplorable state of the peasants in his *Journey from St. Petersburg to Moscow*, 1790, and Novikoff, who had done much to promote education, was imprisoned for expressing opinions which Catherine deemed revolutionary.

(3) Finance.

The cost of Catherine's foreign policy in men and money was enormous; the annual expenditure was in her reign from seventeen to about seventy million roubles, and lack of money hindered internal development.

III. Character and General Policy.

A. Catherine became Russian.

Catherine, although a German, identified herself with Russia. On her marriage she adopted a Russian name and became a member of the Greek Church¹; she always wore Russian dress; she thoroughly understood the character of her people. Russians alone received from her the highest posts in the bureaucracy and the army.

She adopted and continued the policy of Peter the Great, and the extension of Russian territory and influence was her main object; she thus made herself the head of the national party.

Her attempt to "Europeanise" Russia, largely by copying French manners, was only partially successful. The nobles, who lived under the direct influence of her Court, showed the effect of Western ideas and civilisation; but the great majority of her subjects remained essentially Russian and "lived on in their old stolid barbarism, separated by a broad gulf from their surroundings and the upper strata."²

Her foreign policy proved successful, she greatly extended Russian territory and established Russia as a great European power; but the slogans of her foreign policy was attained at the cost of the internal policy that Russia badly needed.

B. A political woman.

Catherine showed a remarkable grasp of political problems and was a mistress of the art of government. Her policy is marked by the keenest intelligence and the highest courage, and she allowed neither personal feelings nor moral scruples to divert her from her main object. The skill with which she played off Prussia and Austria showed her exceptional ability as a diplomatist; she saw clearly the opportunities afforded by the anarchy in Poland; she skilfully used the agitations arising out of the French Revolution to further her own designs.

¹ Page 186. ² Cambridge Modern History.

She displayed great wisdom in the selection of her ministers and generals, but they remained her servants and carried out her policy.

C. A student.

Catherine was a great reader. She said, "I always had a book in my pocket"; she subscribed to the *Encyclopédie*¹ and read much of Pictarch, Tacitus, Voltaire, Bayle and Montesquieu; she carried on a learned correspondence with Voltaire, Diderot and D'Alembert. She was a prolific writer; published works on history and political economy; wrote poetry, drama, Memoirs and the *Narrative*; she peered a generous patroness of contemporary French authors.

But the teaching of the French philosophers had little practical effect on her internal policy; the French Revolution partly accounts for the reactionary policy of her later years; the adviser of Voltaire re-entitled Koskell.

D. Personal character.

She was fond of display and maintained a splendid Court; her manners were charming; her dignified immorality had no effect upon her policy, but may partly explain her estrangement from her son Paul. But she treated her grandsons with the greatest kindness and gave generous rewards to faithful servants.

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, chap. xxx.
- Historical Studies (Merivale)*, Longman, p. 49.
- Russia (Marshall)*, *Survey of the Nations*, Gurvin.

THE HATS AND THE CAPS IN SWEDEN

I. General Conditions, 1791-1799.

A. The Constitution.

The Constitution, nominally democratic, gave supreme power to the nobles and greatly hampered the authority of the King.

¹ Page 84.

The Diet for Riksdag), over which the President of the Estates of Nobles presided, consisted of the four Estates of Nobles, Clergy, Burghers and Peasants. The nobles, the only privileged class, included many poor members who openly sold their votes. The real authority was vested in a Secret Committee which consisted of fifty nobles, twenty-five clergymen, twenty-five burghers and no peasants, and exercised supreme executive, judicial and legislative powers.

B. Count Bernhard Horn.

Many Swedes, and particularly the turbulent nobles, were anxious to regain Livonia and other territory ceded to Russia by the Peace of Nystad in 1721,¹ and to make Sweden again a Great Power. For help in this design they looked to France, which favoured the aggrandizement of Sweden as a counterpoise to the growing power of Russia. Many of this party, which was led by Count Gyllenborg, had served in the French army and strongly advocated war with Russia.

Count Bernhard Horn, the Chancellor, succeeded for many years in keeping peace, which enabled Sweden to regain the strength it had lost in the war against Russia which ended in 1721; he refused to renew the old relations with France, kept peace with Russia and secured the friendship of Great Britain.

Owing to his sleepy policy the nobles nicknamed Horn and his supporters the "Night-Caps," or "Caps," and themselves took the name of the "Hats," from the three-cornered hats worn by people of rank.

II. The Supremacy of the Hats.

A. The Diet of 1738.

St. Severin, the French ambassador, by wholesale bribery secured a majority of votes in the Diet; the Hats became supreme; Gyllenborg replaced Horn as

¹ *Note on European History*, Vol. II, page 422. Vol. III, page 24.

Chancellor, Tessin became Marshal of the Diet, very few
"Cage" were elected to the Seven Committees.

D. War with Russia, 1741.

(1) Hostility of the Riksdag towards Russia.

In 1738 the Riksdag concluded a treaty with Prussia, who agreed to pay an annual subsidy of 300,000 crowns to maintain the Swedish army and navy ; the minister, in 1738, by Russian officers of Strobl, the Swedish representative, who was travelling to Turkey, increased the hostility of the Swedes to Russia ; a treaty between Sweden and Turkey was signed on July 13th, 1740.

The outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession and the death of the Empress Anna of Russia in 1740 seemed to provide a good opportunity for the Riksdag to declare war against Russia ; France advocated war, hoping that Swedish intervention would prevent Russia from invading Prussia.

August 6th, 1741. An extraordinary Diet declared War against Russia.

(2) The War.

The Riksdag failed to make adequate preparations for war ; Wrangel was routed by the Russians at Vilna, strait in 1742.

The new Empress Elizabeth¹ offered to make peace on the terms of the Peace of Nystad, but refused the demand of the Swedes for the restoration of all Finland and part of Carelia ; La Chastelle, the French ambassador, unsuccessfully supported the Swedish demands at St. Petersburg.

The war was renewed and the Russians overran Finland in 1743.

(3) The Peace of Åbo.

The alliance between Great Britain and Russia, December, 1743, and the possibility that close rela-

¹ Page 182.

tions would be established between Russia, Prussia and Poland, alarmed the Swedes, who approached Denmark with the offer of a close alliance and the succession of Frederick, Prince of Denmark, to the throne of Sweden. The fear of a union between Denmark and Sweden made Elizabeth, who wished her nephew, Adolphus Frederick of Hohen-Gottorp, to succeed the aged King Frederick I, willing to grant favourable terms.

August 7th, 1743. By the Peace of Åbo Elizabeth restored all of Finland, except that to the east of the river Kymens; Sweden again accepted the terms of the Peace of Nystad and received Adolphus Frederick as Crown Prince. Thus Sweden "for ever renounced the hope of recovering the provinces situated on the Gulf of Finland."¹ Christian VI of Denmark seemed likely to take up arms to ensure the succession of his son Frederick to the Swedish throne, but Russia promised substantial aid to Sweden and war was averted.

August, 1746. The Crown Prince Adolphus Frederick married Louise Ulrica of Prussia, sister of Frederick the Great.

April, 1751. Death of King Frederick I. Succession of Adolphus Frederick.

C. The reign of Adolphus Frederick, 1751-1771.

(I) The Diet secures greater power.

The Diet took advantage of the weakness of the King and compelled him to sign all documents submitted to him; a popular rising, strongly supported by the ambitious Queso, was easily suppressed in 1756, and the Diet compelled the King to accept a statement that in free states "Kings merely exist ensembles."

¹ Dyer and Russell.

(3) The Seven Years' War.

1757. The Hets, at the instigation of France, declared war against Prussia. Sweden was to supply 30,000 men, in addition to the garrison. The declaration was a grave mistake. After five unsuccessful campaigns the Hets were glad to make peace on the terms given below, after spending £3,000,000 and losing 40,000 men.

1766. The Caps secured office owing to discontent caused by the failure of the Hets.

Reference:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xxii.

GUSTAVUS III OF SWEDEN, 1771-1792

Gustavus III, the son of Adolphus Frederick and Louise Ulrika of Prussia, was born in 1746. He was a man of charming manners and great intelligence and an excellent French scholar, but the opposition of both Hets and Caps had prevented him from receiving any training in politics or the science of war. But he deplored the degradation of the monarchy and determined to restore the old power of the Crown and to save the people, with whom he was very popular, from the tyranny of faction.

I. The Revolution of 1772.

A. General conditions.

Neither the Hets nor the Caps seemed able to save Sweden. The Caps held power from 1766-1770. During this period the "Reduction Diet" by drastic economy greatly improved the financial state of the country, but provoked the resentment of many who suffered by its rigid policy. In 1770 the Caps agreed to join a league of Northern Powers which Catherine II proposed to establish and which would have made Sweden dependent

on Russia. The refusal of the Cope of the King's request to call a special meeting to relieve the growing distress of the people led to the resignation of Adolphus Frederick, which lasted from December 19th to December 21st, 1789.

1789. The Cope were overthrown, in spite of lavish bribery by Russia ; but the successful Electors, who owed their success largely to French advice, utterly failed to provide the reforms which were urgently necessary.

3. The accession of Gustavus III, 1771.

(1) Gustavus gets French help.

February 11th, 1771. Sudden death of King Adolphus Frederick. Gustavus returned from Paris, whence he had gone to consult D'Aligreton, who urged him to bring about a constitutional revolution in Sweden ; Louis XV promised to pay him a subsidy of a million and a half! Even a year and not the accomplished diplomatist Vergennes to help Gustavus to break the power of the Diet.

(2) The coronation.

May, 1772. At his coronation Gustavus deceived the Diet by accepting the Act of Secularity, by which he promised to make no change in the constitution. In a remarkable speech he urged all parties to combine to make Sweden "the happiest nation in the world."

The Cope had again secured a majority on the death of Adolphus Frederick and acted in accordance with the policy of Catherine II., who, in the interests of Russia, wished to perpetuate anarchy in Poland and Sweden. Their attempt further to limit the King's power by a new form of Coronation Oath made Gustavus determine on immediate action.

(3) The Revolution, August, 1772.

August 19th, 1772. The Diet occupied the streets of Stockholm with an armed force.

Gustavus, who had secured the support of the army,

surrounded the meeting-house of the Diet with artillery, and on August 21st "the terrified Riksdagmen crept, by two and threes, into their places, between rows of glittering bayonets."¹ In a scathing speech Gustavus sternly rebuked the Caps for their relations with Russia, and in terror they unanimously accepted the New Constitution he had prepared.

(4) The New Constitution.

The New Constitution replaced a tyrannical and ineffective republic by a powerful limited monarchy. It gave the King control of foreign policy and the army, the sole right of appointing and dismissing ministers and of suspending and dissolving the Diet. But the consent of the Estates was required for new legislation, for offensive war and for the levy of special taxes to defray the cost of war. The King promised not to leave Sweden without the consent of the Senate, but the Senate was to be nominated by him. The special privileges of the nobles were abolished. "The adams namn"² of "Hats" and "Caps" were no longer to be used.

The Revolution sharply checked the designs of Catherine II and saved Sweden from dismemberment by Russia, Prussia and Denmark. Russia and Denmark proposed for war with Sweden, but her war with Turkey³ diverted Catherine's attention; Frederick II was anxious to avoid a European war which might deprive him of his recent acquisitions in Poland; Great Britain, which objected to the domination of the Baltic Sea by Russia, favoured the maintenance of Swedish independence. These causes saved Sweden from foreign attack and enabled Gustavus III to carry out his policy of reform.

II. The Reforms of Gustavus III, 1772-1789.

A. Financial.

Johan Lilienblom, appointed Vice-Chancellor in civil

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, page 773.

² Page 188.

and ecclesiastical affairs, in six years reduced the paper currency the State had issued and paid off the debts accumulated by the State during the last fifty years.

B. Judicial.

An inquiry into judicial administration led to the dismissal of five out of eight judges and to the reform of charges.

C. Military and Naval.

The system whereby commissions involved payment of a bounty to the previous holders was abolished; Flensburg was fortified and a fleet of galleys suitable for action in its shallow waters was constructed; Stockholm was strongly fortified and new docks constructed at Karlskrona; important additions were made to the fleet; the artillery was reorganized and three camps established for manoeuvres.

III. The Russian War.

Although Sweden joined with Russia in forming the Armed Neutrality of the North in 1788, the danger that Russia would treat Sweden as she had treated Poland and the attempts of Russia to stir up the Swedish nobles against the monarchy led Gustavus to prepare for war against Russia.

The Diet of 1789 refused to make certain reforms the King desired; the extravagance of Gustavus and his Court led to increased taxation; bad harvests caused much distress.

Sweden had concluded a treaty with France in 1784; a treaty was made with Turkey, which sent subsidies to Sweden.

June, 1790. Gustavus III, without the necessary sanction of the Estates, declared war on Russia, hoping that as Russia was at war with Turkey the war would ensure the restoration of Livonia and Carelia to Sweden.

would unite all Sweden against the common enemy and yet as bad to the growing discontent at home.

A. Unsuccessful campaign in Finland.

July, 1788. Gustavus landed in Finland and took Catherine by surprise. But the drawn naval battle of Hogland on July 17th, and a mutiny of Swedish sailors who objected to an offensive war which had not been sanctioned by the Diet, prevented Gustavus from attacking St. Petersburg, which was held by a weak garrison.

August, 1788. Gustavus returned to Stockholm.

B. The unsuccessful invasion of the Danes.

The Russians were blockading the Swedish fleet in Sonneborg and commanded the Gulf of Bothnia and the Cattgat.

September, 1788. The Danes invaded Sweden and advanced towards Gothenburg. Gustavus, unable to rely on his army, raised an army of Delawares from the provinces of Dalecarlia and saved Gothenburg. Great Britain and Prussia, anxious to preserve the balance of power in the Baltic, put strong pressure on the Danes, who made the Treaty of Uddevalla on November 6th, 1788, and evacuated Sweden.

C. The Act of Union and Security, 1789.

His victory over the Danes enabled Gustavus to force the Diet to accept the Act of Union and Security by which the King gained the power of making peace, making alliances, and the Diet met only by royal summons.

The Government now became a despotism instead of a limited monarchy, and the Act of Union and Security carried the Revolution of 1772 a step further and, like it, saved Sweden from Russia.

D. The End of the War.

Gustavus again invaded Finland and won a great naval victory at Fredrikshald in July, 1790. The difficulties of the Turkish War and the knowledge that

Austria was preparing to make peace with Turkey induced Catherine to make peace with Sweden; Gustavus found that he could not rely upon Great Britain and Prussia; both Catherine and Gustava were strongly opposed to the French Revolution, and the latter desired to make peace with Russia in order that he might be free to resist it.

August 15th, 1790. The Peace of Varsal was made between Sweden and Russia on the basis of the status quo ante bellum.

October, 1791. A Treaty of Friendship and Union was made between Sweden and Russia.

Gustavus III had maintained the integrity of Sweden, but had not secured the return of any of her old territory.

IV. Gustavus III and the French Revolution.

Gustavus, now freed from all danger from Russia and moved largely by sympathy for Marie Antoinette, did his utmost to overthrow the Revolutionary party in France.

But all his schemes failed. Catherine II decided that neutrality was her best policy; Leopold II refused to agree to a joint invasion of France which Gustavus suggested; Gustavus went to Aix-la-Chapelle in 1791 to arrange with French delegates for an invasion of France and had a share in the arrangements for the flight of Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette to Tercezze; Catherine refused to join Gustavus in invading Normandy and blocking the Seine.

V. Assassination of Gustavus III, 1792.

The nobles, who resented the loss of their privileges which Gustavus' policy entailed, made a conspiracy against him.

March 16th, 1792. Gustavus shot in the Stockholm Opera House by Axel von Fersen.

March 29th, 1792. Death of Gustavus III.

His successor adopted a policy of strict neutrality towards France.

Reference:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xxx.

DENMARK, 1780-1797

I. General

The history of Denmark during the eighteenth century offers a striking contrast to that of the other nations of Europe. She took no part in the great wars of the century, except from September to November, 1788, when she invaded Sweden,¹ and, owing to her neutrality, secured much of the commerce which the belligerents were not able to carry on.

Her kings, though possessing absolute power, were swayed by powerful ministers, and in Denmark the ministers played the part of benevolent despots which kings played in other countries.

Denmark had gained Schleswig in 1720 at the close of the Great Northern War,² and the acquisition of Holstein was the main object of her foreign policy; she had given up the idea of regaining Scania from Sweden but hoped to unite Norway, Sweden, and Denmark under one Crown. But her relations with Sweden were generally peaceful, although she tended to help the Swedish nobles to limit the power of the monarchy.

The condition of the country in 1780 was bad. The peasantry were heavily taxed with common cultivation and the three-field system hampered agriculture and much of the country was waste. The towns, except Copenhagen, were small, and the peasants alone prospered.

¹ Page 282.

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, page 452.

II. Foreign Policy.

A. France.

Johann von Bernstorff in 1796 secured from France a subsidy for equipping the Danish army and, as the Danish fleet was efficient, materially strengthened the position of Denmark.

B. Great Britain.

Skilled diplomacy avoided a quarrel with Britain, which, relying on her fleet, was apt to bully the Maritime Nations. Fear of British interference led Denmark to join the Armed Neutrality of 1790.¹

C. Russia.

Russia was dangerous not only because of her desire to dominate the Baltic, but because of her close connection with the house of Holstein-Gottorp, who desired to reign Schleswig. Anna, the daughter of Peter the Great, had married the Duke of Holstein-Gottorp, and their son became the Tsar Peter III in 1762; the election of Adolphus Frederick of Holstein-Gottorp to the throne of Sweden in 1748 was a serious blow to Denmark.

In 1793 Denmark was in serious danger, for Peter III, now allied with Frederick II, determined to recover Schleswig. The murder of Peter² saved Denmark.

1797. Catharine II agreed to induce her son Paul to abdicate his claim on Schleswig and to exchange Holstein for Oldenburg.

III. Johann von Bernstorff.

Bernstorff from 1791-1797 was the chief minister of the dissipated Frederick V (1746-1796) and the lunatic Christian VII (1780-1794). He was responsible for the close alliance with France and the treaty of 1797 with Russia. He tried to stimulate trade by Protection; he raised the standard of culture by encouraging learned

¹ Page 164.

² Page 198.

foreigners to settle in Denmark; he kept Denmark at peace, and under his administration commerce, industry and agriculture improved.

IV. John Frederik Sørensen.

Sørensen, a doctor of Altona, gained great influence over Christian VII and became the lover of Queen Caroline Matilda, sister of George III. From December, 1770, to December, 1771, he was chief minister and during this period issued six hundred reforming decrees.

His aim was "to give Denmark a benevolent despotism unconquerable by bureaucratic restraint, to strike down privilege . . . to maintain for every citizen the widest possible freedom to live the life which seemed good to him."¹

A. Reforms.

He therefore weakened the power the nobles had secured in the administration; tried to improve the financial condition of the country by reducing the expenditure of the Court, abandoning subsidies to industry, disbanding the Royal Guards, limiting pensions and abolishing unnecessary posts. He abolished torture and revised the penal code. He limited the number of Church holidays, during which serfs could not work, and tried to release some of the worst evils of serfdom. He reformed municipal corporations and the universities.

B. Opposition.

Thus, although many of his reforms were salutary, he aroused the fierce opposition of the nobles, the clergy and the army; his relations to the Queen and his introduction of foreign officials provoked strong resentment. Queen Juliane, widow of Frederick V, supported the "Danish party" against him, and he was exiled and executed April 19th, 1772.

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, page 247.

*I. Andreas Peter von Bernstorff, 1796-1797.**A. Reaction.*

Many of Stromness's reforms were annulled by the patriotic Goldberg, whom "Danish" policy substituted native officials for foreigners, prohibited the import of foreign corn and encouraged native manufacture.

B. Bernstorff's foreign and colonial policy.

Goldberg was succeeded by Andreas Peter von Bernstorff, the nephew of Johann. He kept Denmark at peace, except in 1798, maintained neutrality with regard to the French Revolution, compelled the Dey of Tripoli to respect the Danish flag and, in 1798, abolished the African slave trade in Danish colonies. Under him the foreign trade of Denmark was greatly extended.

C. Agriculture.

He continued, with greater success, his uncle's efforts to help the serfs. The authority of landlords over their peasants was limited; serfs were no longer bound to the soil; the restrictions on the importation of foreign corn and cattle were removed; the serfs were relieved from some of their taxes and they were afforded opportunities of acquiring land and getting education. The general result was the replacement of serfs by intelligent and hard-working peasants who "became the main element in the national strength of Denmark."

Sources:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chapt. XII.

FREDERICK WILLIAM I

Frederick William
(The Great Elector)

1640-1688.

Frederick I
1st King in Prussia
1688-1712.

Frederick William I
1712-1740.

Frederick II
The Great
1740-1786
R.R.P.

Augustus William
c. 1716.

Frederick William II
1786-1806.

Wilhelmina
c. William V
of Orange.

Frederick William III
1806-1840.

Frederick William I succeeded his father Frederick I on February 25th, 1712. He said in 1702: "When my late father died in 1712, I found the province of Prussia almost at its last gape with plague and famine, most of the domains mortgaged, all of which I have redeemed, and the finances in such a plight that bankruptcy was imminent, the army in so bad a way and so low in number that its shortcomings baffle description."

1. The Recorganization of the Prussian Army.

The Great Northern War² had shown the need of a strong army to defend Prussia; that need was emphasized by the growing power of Russia, the establishment of Augustus of Saxony as King of Poland,³ the accession

² *Notes on European History*, Vol. II, pages 448-450.

³ Page 22.

to the throne of Great Britain in 1714 of the Elector of Hanover, who wished to secure supremacy in Northern Germany and resisted the development of Prussia.

Prince Leopold of Anhalt-Dessau, who introduced the iron recruits, enforced rigid discipline by exertions and brutal flogging, improved marching by using the condensed step, and gave to the Prussian infantry that combination of mobility and machine-like precision.

Voluntary enlistment, impressment and kidnapping enabled the recruiting officers to obtain many recruits; practical conscription of young nobles ensured a supply of officers. Although the King's policy prejudiced commerce and agriculture by the withdrawal of labour, caused great distress and led to the emigration of many living near the frontier, it proved successful, and between 1713 and 1740 the Prussian army grew from 30,000 to 80,000, or four per cent of the total population.

The King was his own Commander-in-Chief; he inspected each regiment every year and appointed his own officers. The new Prussian army became the foundation of the absolute power of the King.

II. Internal Development.

A. National administration.

In 1732 Frederick William I combined the General Directory of Finance and the War Commission into the General Directory, which became the central administrative department. The King presided in person; it had four departments for Finance, Foreign Affairs, War and Justice, and the heads of these departments were members of the General Directory.

B. Local administration.

The work of the General Directory was carried on locally by Provincial Chambers for War and Domains, to which Country and Town Councils were subordinate. A similar arrangement was made for the administration of justice.

The Councillors of Towns, the representatives of the Provincial Chambers, and not the burgomasters, were the chief municipal officers. They controlled municipal finance, supervised municipal property, nominated local officials, adjudicated civil cases, settled disputes about wages and promoted manufacture.

C. Commerce and Agriculture.

The King greatly improved the cloth trade of Eisenberg; protected home industry by heavy tariffs; made generous gifts to meet the cost of municipal improvements.

He welcomed immigrants and settled 32,000 in East Prussia, of whom 10,000 were Protestants who owing to persecution had fled from the Archdiocese of Salzburg. The efforts of the new settlers led to a great development of agriculture. Thirty square miles of marsh around the Havel were reclaimed and turned into cultivable land.

D. General.

The new bureaucracy proved efficient; it protected economic development; it gave to towns better conditions than those prevailing under the old municipal government, which had often been corrupt. The King's authority was felt everywhere, and paternal despotism, although it hampered individual action, led to increased prosperity. The development of industry and agriculture led to a considerable increase in the taxes; the income from the Crown Lands more than doubled in the reign of Frederick William I, who used his increased wealth to meet the expense of his growing army.

III. Foreign Policy.

Frederick William I had no capacity for foreign affairs and "was not, like his successor, master of the art of oscillating between the Powers." He feared that war might jeopardize the independence of Prussia and give Hanover an opportunity of attacking his country. He

adopted a policy of neutrality, and men said that he was so proud of his machine-like army that he would not expose it to the danger of battle. His only war was waged against Sweden, and as a result he obtained Stettin, the port of Berlin, which was his only territorial acquisition.

A. Austria.

Frederick William was loyal to the Emperor and anxious to discharge all his obligations as a German prince. He looked to the Emperor to enable him to assume Jülich and Berg, which by a treaty made in 1709 were to pass to Brandenburg on the failure of the last of the Neuburg line, Charles Philip, the Elector Palatine, but which Charles Philip wished to pass, with the Palatinate, to the kindred line of Sulzbach. The Emperor, a strong Catholic, was reluctant to hand over to a Protestant King Düsseldorf, the capital of Jülich and a stronghold of Orthodoxy.

1733. By the Treaty of Wörthersee, Frederick William promised to support the Pragmatic Sanction, and Charles VI promised to support the Prussian claim to Jülich and Berg. Austrian influence, owing to the shift of Beckenford the ambassador, now became supreme in Berlin.

1733. Refusal of Charles VI to guarantee Frederick William's assumption to Jülich and Berg in return for the help of 30,000 Prussians in the War of the Polish Succession.

January, 1733. Secret agreement between Charles VI and France to support the claims of the Sulzbach line to Jülich and Berg.

April, 1733. Frederick William therefore made a secret treaty with France by which he was to get most of Berg, and Sulzbach the remainder.

Thus the Emperor's double-dealing had made Prussia the ally of France.

B. Great Britain.

Although he had married Sophie Dorothea, daughter of George I, the different interests of Prussia and Great Britain in relation to Hanover caused a feeling of distrust between the two nations.

(1) The Treaty of Hanover.

1731. Frederick William made a treaty with Britain which promised to support his claims to Jülich and Berg. But the fear that Britain would use Prussia to suppress the Ostend Company¹ and injure Spanish commerce, and the diplomacy of Soubise led the Emperor to make with Frederick William the Treaty of Wusterhausen in 1731. Charles made a vague promise to give Jülich and Berg to Frederick William.

(2) Proposed marriage, 1730.

Queen Sophie Dorothea was anxious to marry her eldest daughter to Frederick, Prince of Wales, and the Crown Prince Frederick (II) to Princess Amelia. But Austrian diplomacy干涉ed. Frederick William against Great Britain; difficulties arose owing to the enlistment of Hanoverians for service in the Prussian army; the British ambassador, Rotham, was insulted by Frederick William and the Queen's plan failed.

(3) Family quarrel.

The question of the English marriage embittered the bad feeling between the King and the Crown Prince Frederick (II), who had copied his father's ways by his love of French literature, his contempt for Germans, his distaste for military uniform and duty and his tendency to dissipation. Frederick William now took away his son's books, forbade him to see his mother and flagged him in public at a military review attended by Augustus of Saxony.

¹ Page 22.

August 30th, 1730. Frederick made with his friend von Katté a plan to escape into Holland. The plot failed; von Katté was beheaded in the presence of Frederick, who was closely imprisoned at Cöthen. The failure of the British ambassador to reveal Frederick's plan to the King aggravated the bad feeling between Great Britain and Prussia.

June 12th, 1731. By his father's orders Frederick married Elizabeth of Brunswick, a niece of the Empress, and better relations were established between father and son.

IV. General.

A. Personal.

Frederick William's brutality, his "pipe-smoked Tectorium," his love of his Tobacco-Parliament, in which he consumed vast quantities of beer and tobacco, his childish delight in his giant grenadiers, the great resentment aroused by his internal policy, which made "Court and army team with unrest," gained for him great unpopularity and ridicule.

But he was a man of pure life and of strong religious feelings; he had great practical ability and sacrificed pleasure to duty.

B. A great Prussian.

He firmly established the absolute power of the King "like a rock of brass" on the foundation of a powerful, disciplined and obedient army. He declared "Salvation belongs to the Lord; everything else is my business." He used his power to promote the good of his people, but his methods were despotic. "He seemed to regard his sceptre chiefly as a superior kind of cudgel."

He practised rigid economy. He lived simply, cut down the expenses of the Court and paid a Bonus subsidy by melting down the royal plate. By economy and efficient administration, in spite of the enormous

and poverty of Prussia, he left at his death accumulated treasure of ~~seventy-six~~ million marks.

Friedrich II made Prussia a Great Power. He was able to do this because of the army, treasure and absolute power his father left him.

References:

The Balance of Power (Hastall), Bingtonton, pp. 120-125.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. vi, 2.

Heroes of the Nations. Frederick the Great (Blackberry), Part III, chap. n.

FREDERICK II THE GREAT, 1712-1786

1. Life.

January 24th, 1712. Birth of Frederick. His early life was embittered by the brutality of his father Frederick William I, who drew up a militaristic scheme of education for his son which excluded classics, and when he found that his son preferred French to German, and foot-playing to drill, vented his rage in insults and blows. His father's bigoted Calvinism and his own natural tendency towards scepticism made Frederick reject orthodox Protestantism.

1730. Failure of Queen Sophie Dorothea's attempt to marry Frederick to Amelia of England.

August, 1730. Failure of Frederick's attempt to escape from Germany, followed by his imprisonment at Celle and the execution of von Kame.

August 18th, 1731. Better relations established between Frederick and his father.

June 12th, 1740. Marriage of Frederick to Elisabeth of Brunswick-Bevern.

May 31st, 1740. Death of Frederick William I and accession of Frederick II.

- December, 1740-July, 1742. First Silesian War.¹
 1742. April 10th. Mollwitz.
 1743. October 2d. Treaty of Klein-Schnellenberg.
 1744. May 17th. Chotusitz.
 1745. July 26th. Treaty of Berlin. Frederick gets Silesia.
- August, 1746-December, 1748. Second Silesian War.²
 1747. Frederick defeated the Austrians at Hochkirch (June 4th), Sois (September 30th) and Kesseldorf (December 12th).
 1748. December. Treaty of Dresden.
- August, 1756-February, 1763. The Seven Years' War.³
 1756. Frederick overruns Saxony—Lobositz and Pirna (October).
 1757. Frederick invades Bohemia—Prague (May 6th), Eger (June 14th).
 1757. August 26th. Gross-Jagendorf.
 1757. November 3d. Roehbach.
 1757. December 9th. Leuthen.
 1758. August 22d. Zornsdorf.
 1758. October 14th. Hochkirch.
 1759. July 23d. Kalischau.
 1759. August 12th. Kunersdorf.
 1759. November 1st. Capitulation of Magdeburg.
 1760. June 22d. Leuthen.
 1760. August 13th. Liegnitz.
 1760. October 2d. Russians occupy Berlin.
 1760. November 3d. Torgau.
 1761. October 5th. Resignation of William Pitt.
 1761. December. Frederick's position seemed hopeless.
 1762. January 2d. Death of the Empress Elizabeth.
 1762. May 9th. Treaty between Russia and Prussia.
 1762. July 21st. Buxtehude.
 1763. February 15th. Peace of Hubertusburg.
- April, 1764. Alliance between Frederick II and Catherine II recovered in 1763 and 1768.
1766. De Lassay appointed Superintendent of Customs.

¹ Page 62.² Page 60.³ Page 53.

- August, 1772. First Partition of Poland.
 July, 1778-May, 1779. War of the Bavarian Succession.
 1780. End of the alliance between Prussia and France.
 July, 1786. Frederick established the Flussfeuerland.
 August 17th, 1786. Death of Frederick the Great.

II. Foreign Policy.

A. The aggrandizement of Prussia.

The great object of Frederick the Great was the aggrandizement of Prussia; he said that he "made it a point of honour to contribute more than any other to the aggrandizement of my house." He saw that Silesia and Brandenburg were too far to be of great value and remained, by the Treaty of Berlin in June, 1741, all claims on them in return for the promise of France to guarantee his possession of Lower Silesia. He added to Prussia Silesia, Polish Prussia, East Prussia, which he seized in 1741, ~~in 1741~~, ^{as a} ~~by~~ ⁱⁿ victory of Wars; he failed to secure Saxony, although he occupied the Electorate in the Seven Years' War, offered to give East Prussia to Peter II in 1762 if the Czar would support the transference of Saxony to Prussia and took part in the War of the Bavarian Succession, 1778-1779, partly in the hope of securing part of Saxony.

B. Frederick's diplomacy.

His successful diplomacy was a triumph of astuteness; it was marked by insight, opportunism and dexterity and by an unwise disregard for honesty. He said: "If there is anything to be gained by being honest, let us be honest; if it is necessary to deceive, then deceive." He made the Treaty of Trittau with France against Austria in June, 1741; the Convention of Klein-Schneidau with Austria in October, 1741; broke the Convention in December, 1742, and again co-operated with France; deserted France and made the Treaty of Berlin with Austria in July, 1743. Frederick failed to

make allowance for hostility in others and was greatly surprised when Augustus, out of loyalty to Austria, opposed his passage through Saxony in 1756. He did not appreciate the great influence exercised by women in politics.

(1) Austria.

He realized that the traditional policy of friendship with Austria was no longer possible owing to the growing jealousy of Austria and made overtures in 1750 to France and Russia to settle the question of Jülich and Berg without reference to Austria. His seizure of Silesia aroused the permanent hostility of Austria, but his truce with Hungary in 1752 and 1756 minimized the danger. On the failure of the Russian alliance in 1759 he adopted a German policy, and by passing on the champion of Protestantism and the rights of the German princes formed the Fürstenbund in 1763 to check Austria.

(2) France.

He made a skilful use of the hostility between France and Austria during the War of the Austrian Succession. But the Renewal of Alliances was a serious blow to Frederick, who was saved from destruction partly by lack of cohesion among his enemies in the Seven Years' War.

(3) Russia.

The alliance made with Peter II in 1762 and renewed by Catherine II was of inestimable value to Prussia. After 1768 Frederick wanted peace for the restoration of his country, and the alliance with Russia alleviated the danger from Austria and protected his ~~country~~ ^{country}. He showed great diplomatic ability in his negotiations with Austria and Russia in 1768-1770, which resulted in the First Partition of Poland.¹

¹ Page 154.

(4) Great Britain.

Britain's interest in Hanover and the possibility of a British alliance with Russia added to Frederick's difficulties. But the Treaty of Westminster, 1756,¹ was a skilful move on Frederick's part : the hostility between France and Britain led Pitt, who wished to concentrate his efforts on the Colonial War, to support Frederick II in Europe. After this, deserted him ; Frederick never renounced his alliance with Britain.

C. Results.

The result of Frederick's foreign policy was that the territory of Prussia increased from 2300 to 3800 square miles, the population from two millions to six.

III. Domestic Policy.

A. Absolute power.

(1) Reasons for absolutism.

Frederick's power was absolute. It was due to the support of his army ; to the strong caste divisions which prevented national union against the King ; to the differences of religion which prevented union among the clergy ; to the enormous wealth of the King, who held one-third of Prussia as *Crown Lands* ; to the military authority the King exercised over the nobles, who formed the officers, and the peasants, who formed the rank and file of his army.

(2) Despotic despotism.

The Prussian monarchy was a *personal despotism* exercised for the good of the nation as *servile* of the King. Frederick admitted no man or body of men as his colleagues in the work of government and war. His subjects were servants ; he *arrogantly dismissed* the Chapellier and imprisoned three judges for giving

¹ Page 114.² Page 115.

a variant of which he disapproved ; the clergy because the "spiritual servants, corporals and captains." By indefatigable energy the King personally directed everything ; he issued orders that servants in lighting the way to see road-chips and ant-rats, which were required for paper ; he organised the Berlin newspaper ; "he supervised his kingdom like a department of State."¹ "Abnegation and diligence are the hall-marks of all his measures."²

B. Commerce.

The King, in accordance with the mercantile theory, protected home-industries by prohibiting imports and exports to and from the possessions of the home monarch. He removed the barriers of the merchandise of Dresden, permitting good cloth to compete with the porcelain industry of Berlin ; he prohibited the importation of English iron in order to facilitate the development of the Berlin iron field ; he assisted the steel-trades and granted large amounts of his own money to support the manufacture of silk and velvet ; in 1788 he started the Prussian Bank.

C. Agriculture.

Frederick II realised the importance of successful agriculture.

(1) Immigration.

He favoured immigration, and in his reign about 300,000 foreigners settled on the least fertile parts of Prussia, especially in the Mark of Brandenburg and East Prussia.

(2) Enclosure.

He made great efforts and gave large contributions to restore agriculture after the devastation of the war. He gave space and tools to the peasants, supplied sheep (90,000 in the Neumark alone) and oxen ; provided tramps and paid for the erection of 10,000 farm-houses and farm buildings ; mortgages on easy terms

¹ Carlyle.

² Rutherford.

reduced the Russian landowners. The King was the greatest corn grower in Prussia, and the ~~debtors~~ he established ensured a supply of grain in productive years ; he thus gave his peasant subjects an assurance against starvation.

(3) *Serfs.*

He abolished slavery, but, owing to the local influence of the nobles, failed to abolish serfdom. The condition of the peasants of Prussia was worse than that of the peasants in France.

D. *Finance.*

The revenue rose rapidly. Prosperity meant higher rents for Crown domains ; the ~~State held the monopoly of salt~~ for which everybody had to purchase a fixed quantity), tobacco and coffee. The stamp duty was quadrupled, heavy additional taxes were placed on meat (but not pork), beer and spirits. The State made a large profit by redeeming at a quarter of its nominal value the debased coinage it had issued during the war.

The ~~Customs and excise~~ were reorganized by De Lannay, who was appointed Chief Superintendent in 1760, and the chief posts in the service were given to Frenchmen. The new arrangement was unpopular, but led to a considerable increase in revenue and a decrease in smuggling.

Owing to his financial policy Frederick II left at his death fifty-one million thalers ; more than double the annual revenue of Prussia.

E. *Religion.*

Frederick II determined that "in this country every one shall get to heaven in his own way" and stood "neutral between Rome and Geneva." He gave toleration to all forms of religious belief and allowed the Jews to enter Prussia in the hope that they would raise the standard of education. Although a Deist, he

posed as the champion of Protestantism and declared he "relied on religion and our brave soldiers" for success in his first Silesian campaign.

F. Frederick II and the Army.

Frederick used his power largely to his army and he "used his strength like a giant." Under him Prussia became one vast camp.

(1) Numbers.

The Prussian army suffered great losses under Frederick II, e.g. 14,000 out of 42,000 were wounded or slain at Kesseldorf in August, 1759; eighteen battalions and thirty-five squadrons surrendered at Massen in November, 1760. But Frederick kept up his numbers by active recruiting, and in 1761 he had an effective force of 100,000 men.

(2) Improvements.

Frederick introduced heavy artillery, formed a body of cavalry which, though ineffective at Hohenfriedberg in 1741, rapidly improved owing to Zieten's leadership and at Hohenfriedberg in 1745 became worthy colleagues of the wonderful Prussian infantry which Ferdinand made more mobile and therefore more effective.

(3) Frederick as a soldier.

As a general Frederick made his plans quickly and carried them out with such precision. The rapid movements of his mobile troops did something to counteract the superior numbers of his enemies. He displayed great courage in battle, and Napoleon said,

"It was not the army that defended Prussia . . . it was Frederick the Great." If the capture of Silesia made him Frederick the Great, the Seven Years' War proved him to be a hero. His most conspicuous success was Rossbach, November, 1757.

IV. Personal.

A. Appearance.

He was of medium height, dressed carelessly, was dirty and stained his clothes with sweat. But his bearing was grand and impressive.

B. Lack of human sympathy.

He was cold, cynical, selfish and immoral. He despised mankind with contempt; he was at times ungrateful, and in 1762 he dismissed without reward most of the soldiers who had helped him to save Prussia; he was a master of the art of detraction, and his scathing remarks about Catherine II¹ and Madame de Staélhod increased their hostility.

C. Causes of his success.

He was hard-working, clear-sighted, resolute and energetic. His swift and decisive action ensured the success of his daring schemes, and he allowed no consideration of honesty, gratitude or mercy to turn him from his course.

D. The supporter of "Enlightenment."

He was a disciple of Voltaire; he wrote many books, including a History of the Seven Years' War; he was a poet, philosopher and orator. But he was a man of action rather than a thinker.

V. The importance of Frederick the Great.

Frederick turned Prussia from a third-class into a first-class Power and made it "a solid and living state around which the Teutonic people should consolidate itself."² But his power was personal, his political machine had no power of self-direction and Prussia lost much of her strength under Frederick William II. The system of Frederick the Great led to the downfall of Prussia at Jena in October, 1806.

¹ He said that if she was corresponding with God, Catherine would demand equal rank.
² Lodge.

In spite of the views of the German princes in the Prussian camp, Frederick's policy was essentially Prussian; but "the course of history has shown that by gaining Silesia Prussia enabled herself to become in time the principal German state."¹ The ultimate result of the work of Frederick the Great was the establishment of the German Empire at Versailles on January 18th, 1871.

References:

- Survey of the Nations. Frederick the Great* (Reddaway).
 Putnam.
Macaulay's Essays. Frederick the Great.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xx.
The Balance of Power (Holland), Rivington, pp. 372-381.

FREDERICK WILLIAM II, 1786-1797

Frederick William II succeeded his uncle Frederick II in 1786.

I. Domestic Policy.

A. Revenue and Commerce.

Frederick William II selected sides of the handicaps caused by Frederick II's policy; he raised the pay of officers, abolished the State monopolies on coffee and tobacco and sent the French revenue officers back to France.

No wars were waged in Prussia during his reign, commerce flourished and the returns from Customs and Excise increased. But by using the treasury, the trade had left to meet the cost of foreign war he depleted the treasury and seriously weakened the financial position of Prussia.

B. The Romantics.

The mystical philosophy of the Romantics, who sought the philosopher's stone, studied alpinism and

¹ Reddaway.

tried to revive the dead, was a reaction against the sentimentalism of the previous reign. Freedom of speech was limited, and many preachers and teachers of the *Aufklärung* were affected by the Religious edict issued by Frederick William II in 1783. Kant was the most distinguished victim.

Although he favoured the *Bodmerites*, who insisted on the observance of charity, Frederick William II was immoral and contracted two bigamous marriages during the lifetime of his second wife.

C. The Altpreußische Landeskart.

The *Altpreußische Landeskart*, finished in 1791, was a valuable codification of the laws of Prussia. It tended to strengthen the power of the bureaucracy by making them less dependent on the monarchy.

II. Foreign Policy.

A. Austria.

(1) Enmity.

Frederick William II regarded Austria as the enemy of Prussia; in 1789 he resolved to drive the Austrians out of Galicia and the Netherlands, and in 1790 made alliances, which were "statements of dignity and purity."¹ with Turkey and Poland against Austria.

(2) The Convention of Reichenbach, June, 1790 (page 207).

(3) Alliance.

Owing to the danger from the French Revolution, Frederick William, who was proud of the part he had played in establishing the *Stadtholder* in Holland and wished to re-establish Louis XVI in France, made an alliance with Austria in 1792, supported her when France declared war and joined in invading France. But lack of resources, the need of concentrating his attention on Poland, the growing suspicion of Austria

¹ Hassell.

and the pressure of the anti-Austrian party at Berlin led to the withdrawal of Prussia from the war and the conclusion of the Treaty of Bukk,¹ 1793.

B. Poland.²

1793. By the Second Partition Prussia gained Danzig, Thorn, Posen, Kalish and Gdansk.

1795. By the Third Partition Prussia gained Warsaw and the territory between the Niemen and the Bug.

C. Holland and the Triple Alliance.

(1) Holland.

The old strife continued between the republican Estates or " Patriots," supported by France, which protected the interests of Holland by the Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1795,³ and the Stadholders William V, who had married Frederick William's sister Wilhelmina and was favoured by Great Britain.

September, 1795. The Estates suspended the Stadholder and deprived him of the power of commanding officers in the army.

June, 1797. Arrest by some insurgents of Wilhelmina, who was imprisoned for one day.

September, 1797. Owing to his sister's treatment Frederick William sent an army into Gelderland; the Estates submitted; the Stadholder re-entered The Hague on September 20th, 1797, and re-established the constitution. The intervention of France, which was greatly weakened by the death of Vergennes in February, 1797, and the weakness of his successor Morelly, was availed by Pitt's assertion that such intervention would lead to war between Great Britain and France. "No single effort since the battle of Bunker-hill did so much to discredit the Bourbon monarchy as the passive acceptance by France of Prussian intervention in Holland."⁴

¹ Page 228. ² Page 223 and 230. ³ Page 271.

⁴ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, page 104.

(6) The Triple Alliance, 1798.

June, 1798. A Triple Alliance was formed between England, Holland and Prussia to guarantee the constitution of Holland. The Triple Alliance was a great triumph for Pitt and a very serious rebuff for France. It increased the prestige of Frederick William II, who hoped to derive from it assistance against Austria. It exercised considerable influence in Europe; stopped Denmark from helping Russia against Sweden in 1798¹; averted probable war between Prussia and Austria by the Convention of Reichenbach² in 1799; helped to make the Treaty of Kastov³ between Austria and Turkey in 1799; helped Austria to maintain her hold on the Netherlands.

References:

The Balance of Power (Glossall), Basingstoke, pp. 283-286.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VII, chap. XX; Vol. VIII,
 chap. XI.

¹ Page 281. ² Page 280. ³ Page 282. ⁴ Page 283.

THE AUSTRIAN TERRITORIES FROM 1765-1790

Franz I. or Maria Theresa 1740-1780. d. 1780.	
Joseph II. 1760-1790.	Leopold II. 1760-1792.
	Franz II. 1792-1805.

I. The Aims of Maria Theresa and Joseph II.

In 1765 Joseph II succeeded his father as Holy Roman Emperor and became co-Regent with his mother of the Austrian territories. These were little more than a federation of heterogeneous states separated by differences of race, language, constitution and interests and united only by the authority of the Emperor and the Roman Catholic religion. Great evils required reform ; "particularism and aristocratical oligarchy segregated the whole body-politic." The finances were embarrassed owing to the cost of recent wars ; the condition of the peasants was deplorable ; there was no effective system of central government or justice ; education was neglected ; the legal code was barbarous.

The co-Regents, who were benevolent despots, aimed at centralising administration and reforming society, but Maria Theresa was hampered by old Habsburg traditions, by her belief that the nobles formed an important basis of her power and by her sincere devotion to Catholicism. She desired gradual reform, and it was not until her death in 1780 that Joseph II, who was not a

* Bright.

Habsburg has a Larrañaga, was free to attempt "reformation in a dead." The co-Empire was cracked by serious differences (Maria Theresa desired to resign in May, and Joseph in December, 1773; Leopold sent in his resignation in 1773 and in 1776); but Joseph, who was devoted to his mother, delayed reform in accordance with her wishes.

Joseph desired with all possible speed "to consolidate all his dominions into one homogeneous whole; to abolish all privileges and exclusive rights; to obliterate the boundaries of nations, and substitute for them a more administrative division of his whole empire; to merge all nationalities . . . and establish a uniform code of justice; to raise the mass of the community to legal equality with their former masters; to constitute a uniform level of democratic simplicity under his own absolute sway."¹

II. Centralisation.

① ²Centralisation was intended to improve the internal administration of the Austrian territories and, particularly in the case of Joseph's desire to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria,³ to brand them off so that they might more easily check any danger from Prussia or Turkey.

A. Administration.

(1) The Directorate, 1783.

1783. Maria Theresa, by the advice of Haugwitz, combined the separate Chanceries of Bohemia and Austria into a single Directorate with which were connected subordinate Provincial and District Councils.

(2) The State Council.

The Directorate failed to effect the desired centralisation of administration and was practically

¹ *Historical Studies*, Marcella, (Lippmann), page 12.

² Page 278.

superseeded by a Council of State whose members had no departmental office, but advised the Emperor and supervised government.

(3) The Cities.

Joseph, while maintaining separate Chanceries in Austria, Bohemia, Hungary and Transylvania, divided his empire into thirteen governments, each divided into Circles which were subdivided into urban and rural districts. The Cities, the most important part of the scheme, dealt with all branches of government, including schools, the relations of landlords and tenants, and the land system.

B. Justice.

Maria Theresa established at Vienna a High Court of Justice supreme over all other tribunals, and in 1783 set up a Commission to codify the laws.

Joseph made a system of co-ordinated courts which ensured proper connection between all courts and the High Court, and in 1781 arranged an elaborate system of appeals from lower to higher courts.

C. The Army.

The army had been both raised and maintained by provincial Estates, which tended to consider the interests of their own provinces rather than those of the Empire. Haugwitz asserted rightly that the establishment of the immediate supremacy of the sovereign over the army was essential for the safety of the Empire. Maria Theresa therefore in 1761 abolished the authority the Estates had exercised over the army, met the expense of the army by imposing the "Ten Years' Renten," a tax of 14,000,000 golden florins for ten years, to which nobles and peasants had to contribute. Joseph established conscription, and the army thus became a national force, subject to the sole authority of the sovereign.

1762. The War Department was reorganized. Civil officials were recruited, and under the presidency of Dessa the army was greatly improved.

Uniforms and equipment were made uniform, discipline was strengthened, camps of schools and military colleges were established and, largely owing to Joseph's personal interest, the artillery was greatly developed.

D. *Centralization.*

The new arrangements greatly strengthened the monarchy and impaired the authority of provincial Estates and local nobles. In administration Joseph carried on his mother's policy, and the object of his administrative policy was "the unity of the Empire and the subordination of the interests of the provinces to the general good."¹

III. *Reform.*

The strengthening of the central government enabled it the more easily to carry out schemes of reform.

A. *The Church.*

(1) *Joseph's views.*

Maria Theresa was a devout Roman Catholic; she insisted on the need of maintaining Roman Catholics as the "supreme religion," and believed that the weakening of ecclesiastical authority meant the spread of immorality and infidelity. But owing largely to Bourbon influence she suppressed the Jesuits in 1733; she checked the increase of monasteries and limited the right of asylum.

Joseph professed Christianity, but resisted the authority exercised in his dominions by the Pope and the generals of the monastic orders, and aimed at giving full civil rights and religious freedom to his subjects. He considered "that the Church might be in fact only one of the numerous departments of the State." He is mainly responsible for the religious

¹ Bright.

reforms of the period, and he desired to secure ecclesiastical independence for Austria. But by weakening the influence of the Roman Catholic Church, which formed one of the bonds of union in his dominions, Joseph added to his own difficulties.

(3) The weakening of the authority of the Pope.

1781-1784. Bishops were forbidden to appeal to Rome or to publish any Papal bulls without the Emperor's consent; monasteries were exempted from obedience to the Pope; no money was to be sent from Austria to Rome.

(4) Suppression of monasteries.

Joseph suppressed entirely the purely contemplative orders, reduced the number of monks by 30,000 and closed 700 out of 2000 religious houses.

(5) General seminaries.

Joseph replaced the ecclesiastical training colleges by general seminaries, which were State institutions.

(6) Toleration.

1781. By his Edict of Toleration Joseph gave to all Christians, although not to Jews and Deists, full civil and academic privileges and liberty to build their own churches, to celebrate their own sacraments and to educate their children.

1782. Papa Pius VI visited Vienna, but failed to induce Joseph to change his policy. The Emperor said: "Each of us is saving his bread. He defends the authority of the Church, I uphold the rights of the State."

(7) Changes in ceremony.

The authority of the State over the Church was also shown by the issue of new service books, alterations in the order of worship, the removal from churches of side altars and pictures.

B. Education.

Education came under the direction of the central authority; the reforms that were made were due to the desire to produce good citizens rather than to promote learning.

(1) University.

The University of Vienna lost its independence and became a department of State. The faculties were reorganized, professors better paid and methods of instruction improved.

1766. New University buildings were opened.

(2) Secondary and Technical.

A new system of examinations led to improvements in secondary schools and technical instruction was recognized. The suppression of the Jesuits led to the secularization of learning and the employment of many lay teachers. Latin remained the foundation of secondary instruction, but science received more attention.

(3) Primary.

Joseph said: "What we want is that all our subjects should be able to read, write and sum." Albrecht Falbiger, a Prussian, reorganized the system and established three kinds of primary schools to suit the requirements of towns, districts and villages. From 1767-1777 the number of schools was trebled.

C. Legal reforms.

Maria Theresa had extended criminal law and limited the use of torture, and a new criminal code was adopted in 1760. Joseph's "enactments mark a distinct progress from medieval to modern ideas." Punishment was graduated, capital punishment diminished; the intention as well as the act was considered by judges; magic and apostasy were no longer regarded as crimes.

In civil law law was done, but marriage was made a civil contract, and the law of inheritance was amended.

D. The peasants.

Feudalism was strong, and the condition of the peasants, who were entirely dependent on the landowners, was deplorable. Maria Theresa favoured the abolition of villeinage, but the influence of the nobles prevented her from doing more than limiting feudal services, and the peasants, whom her sympathy had led to expect radical reform and who were disappointed at her failure to improve their lot, rose in rebellion in 1774 and 1775.

Joseph abolished serfdom; gave to the peasant the absolute possession of his property, freedom of marriage, liberty of movement from place to place and the right of commuting feudal services for money payments.

E. Finance.

The heavy cost of war and of maintaining an adequate army of defence led to continual financial embarrassment, in spite of rigid personal economy on Joseph's part. Maria Theresa was compelled to pawn her jewels in 1768, and in 1769 a public subscription was raised to meet the expenses of the Seven Years' War.

The "Ten Years' Budget" of 1781 established the liability of all to contribute to the revenue of the State, and the need of a large revenue was obvious. Esterhazy in 1788 urged that taxation should be lowered, on the ground that a larger revenue would follow from the increased prosperity that reduction of taxes would cause. Joseph maintained existing taxes, tried to protect industry by a rigid protective system and, in accordance with the teaching of the Physiocrats, established a uniform system of taxation of land to which all land, whether belonging to nobles, the Crown, peasants or the Church, was equally liable.

This policy of centralisation and reform applied generally only to the central parts of the Austrian Empire. The Austrian Netherlands and Hungary require separate consideration.

IV. The Austrian Netherlands.

In the Austrian Netherlands the different provinces had their own Estates, and the liberties of Brabant were protected by the Council of Brabant in accordance with the *Jouwe Statte*, a charter granted by *Janusz*¹ in 1366. The provinces had retained much independence; they were ruled by viceroys and not directly by the Emperor, and Joseph's sister *Christina* and her husband *Albert of Saxony* held the viceroyalty jointly.

A. Proposed exchange for Bavaria.²

The Netherlands strongly objected to Joseph's proposal to exchange the Netherlands for Bavaria, which would make them subject to a foreign ruler.

B. The attempt to open the Scheldt, 1784-1788.

(1) General conditions.

By the Treaty of Münster, 1648, the Dutch had secured the sole right of navigation on the Scheldt; the trade of Antwerp suffered greatly in consequence.

By the Berlin Treaty of 1763 the Dutch were allowed to garrison the Barrier Fortresses against France; the cost was met by a subsidy from Austria. The fortresses were now in ruins and of no military value; serious differences arose between garrisons and local authorities on questions of police, religion and hunting; payment of the subsidy had been stopped.

Joseph II laid claim to the Dutch town of Maestricht.

(2) The Treaty of Fontainebleau, 1788.

1788. Great Britain, at war with Holland, suggested that Joseph should open the Scheldt.

¹ Duke of Brabant.

² Page 256.

1786. The Dutch surrendered the Barrier Fortresses to Joseph.

1786. Joseph, with the approval of Catherine II., demanded the free navigation of the Scheldt from the Dutch, who were supported by France; he sent ten Austrian ships into the Scheldt, but they were stopped by the Dutch.

November 10th, 1786. By the mediation of France the Treaty of Fontainbleau was concluded, by which a. Holland kept Maestricht, but surrendered the fortresses of Lillo and Littenschoek.

b. The Barrier Treaty was annulled.

- (1) The Emperor renounced his demand for the open navigation of the Scheldt, but received the right of navigation in the neighbourhood of Antwerp.
- (4) The emperor received 10,000,000 guilders, of which France guaranteed half.

In spite of the concession of some rights of navigation, of territory and of a share in the Indian trade, strong disappointment was felt in the Netherlands that the Scheldt remained a closed river.

The Treaty was a diplomatic success for France; strengthened the friendship between France and Holland; rendered a French invasion of the Netherlands easier; deprived Great Britain of one of her closest allies.

C. The Revolt of the Netherlands.

The attempt of Joseph II. to apply to the Austrian Netherlands his policy of centralisation and reform led to a revolt which, unlike those of France and the United States, was the rebellion of reactionary subjects against a reforming Emperor.

- (1) Ecclesiastical innovations.

1781. Joseph issued an Edict of Toleration and invited appeals to Rome.

1782. Joseph proposed to suppress some monasteries.
 [1783. Joseph ordered the Eucharist to be celebrated on the same day throughout the country in order to check disorder and interference with trade.]

October, 1784. Joseph established a general seminary at Lorraine which all ecclesiastical students were to attend.

These measures caused great discontent, but did not at first lead to revolt.

(2) Political Innovations.

a. The Edicts.

January 1st, 1787. Joseph issued two Edicts; one entrusted the government to a Council and three circles, thus suspending the general authority of the Estates and the local authority of nobles and municipalities; the other suppressed the old civil courts, established new local courts, two Courts of Appeal and a Supreme Council.

b. The Edicts withdrawn.

April, 1787. Owing to the Edicts the Estates of Brabant refused to vote subsidies; Van der Noot, a Brabantian lawyer, protested against the violation of the *Jurgen Brabo*.

May 30th, 1787. The viceroy withdrew the political Edicts.

(3) The Revolt.

The religious grievances remained and now provoked strong opposition.

January, 1788. The Council of Brabant refused to consent to the General Seminary. The Bishop of Malines was fined and professors of Lorraine expelled for opposition.

June 18th, 1788. The Estates of Brabant were suppressed and the *Jurgen Brabo* revoked.

But these and other arbitrary measures failed to crush opposition, which was inflamed by the capture of the Bastille on July 14th. Union of the conservative party led by Van der Noot, aiming at the restoration of the old constitution with the help of foreign powers, and the revolutionary party led by Vanloo.

Inspired by Van der Noot, the people rose in revolt ; the Austrians were driven out, Charles and Albert fled.

December, 1790. The States-General deposed Joseph II and declared a Republic.

January 14th, 1790. Proclamation at Brussels of an Act of Union of the Belgian United Provinces.

(4) Results.

The revolt of the Netherlands seriously weakened Austria by preventing her from taking full advantage of her recent successes against Turkey and giving an opportunity to "the enemies of the Hapsburgs to attack the weakened Emperor."¹

V. Hungary.

In Hungary the Magyars, the conquering race, were alone eligible for the Diet and alone possessed constitutional rights ; they were jealous of their privileges and were strong nationalists ; they were exempt from taxation ; they acknowledged Joseph only as King of Hungary and strongly resented his refusal to allow himself to be crowned in Buda-Pesth.

Joseph, who had aroused ill-feeling in Hungary by reorganizing parishes and forbidding pluralism, in 1784 replaced Latin by German as the official language, and soon afterwards replaced the Diet by ten circles each under a royal officer, abolished serfdom and suppressed the feudal organization of the nobles.

¹ Russell.

The Magyars resisted these changes, partly because they seemed to be an attempt to Germanize Hungary; partly because they were an attack on the long-established privileges of the nobles, who strongly objected to the equality of law, taxation and conscription which the Emperor wished to establish. The opposition Joseph provoked in Hungary was an aristocratic movement.

November, 1708. Diet of Transylvania to grant the men and money the Emperor needed for the Turkish War.¹ Demand of the Hungarians that the Diet should be restored.

December 6th, 1709. Partly owing to the Turkish War Joseph was compelled to withdraw all the ordinances he had passed for Hungary except the one that abolished serfdom.

VI. Bavaria.²

A. The Emperor Joseph.

Joseph was anxious to acquire Bavaria, the addition of which would have greatly strengthened Austria's territory by joining Bohemia to the northern provinces; given the Emperor more influence over the German princes; and limited the chance that Prussia would become the leading German power. He married, as his second wife, Josepha, the sister and heiress of the Elector Maximilian Joseph, in the hope of securing Bavaria through his wife; but the Emperor Joseph died in 1711.

B. The War of the Bavarian Succession, 1778-1779.

(i) Austrian claim.

December, 1777. Death of Maximilian Joseph; succession to Bavaria of the Elector Palatine, Charles Theodore of Sulzbach; but the Dowager Electress of Saxony claimed the official property, as sister of the late Elector, and the Duke of Münchberg claimed

¹ Page 264.

² Bavaria was not a part of the Austrian territories but of the Empire.

Lichtenberg.' Maria Theresa, as Queen of Bohemia, claimed duchies in Upper Bavaria and, as Archduchess of Austria, the districts formerly held by the family of Straßburg.

Charles Theodore made a Convention recognizing the Austrian claim to Bavaria, and Austrian soldiers occupied the coveted territory.

(1) The intervention of Frederick II.

Frederick II strongly objected to the occupation by Austria of Bavarian territory, which by strengthening the power of Austria impeded the safety of Prussia and threatened to impair the position of the princeps of Germany. He posed as the protector of the princess against the arbitrary power of the Emperor; supported the claim of the Duke of Zweibrücken, the heir to the Electorate, to succeed to the whole of Bavaria.

May, 1778. The Duke of Zweibrücken protested in the Diet against the Convention, which was invalid without his sanction.

Maria Theresa strongly opposed war, but the Emperor persisted in his policy and war broke out between Prussia and Austria.

(2) The "Potato War," 1778-1779.

Frederick invaded Bohemia in July, 1778; the Austrians took up a strong position on the Elbe. No battle took place; the Prussians ran short of food, and their efforts to secure supplies gave the name of the "Potato War" to the bloodless campaign.

(3) The Peace of Teschen, 1779.

France and Brazil, although allies of Austria, objected to the absorption of Bavaria by the Habsburgs—in the former case because the acquisition of Bavaria would strengthen the position of Austria in Germany and might lead to aggression towards the Rhine; but neither wanted war, because France was

at war with Great Britain; and Russia was busy in the Crimea and unwilling to engage in a war which might lead to a reconsideration of the recent Partition of Poland. Owing to the skilful diplomacy of Vergennes and the firm attitude of Russia, Joseph was compelled to agree to—

May 13th, 1778. The Peace of Teschen, by which :

- a. The Convention of 1773 was annulled.
- b. The Quarter of the Inn, about a sixteenth of Bavaria, was ceded to Austria, which thus secured direct communication with the Tyrol.
- c. The Electress of Saxony withdrew her claims on payment of six million dollars.
- d. Austria agreed that Anspach and Bayreuth should pass to the King of Prussia as failure of the reigning house.

The Peace showed the great influence Russia had secured and gave her an opportunity of interfering in the affairs of Germany as a guarantor of the Peace of Westphalia, which was renewed at Teschen ; it was a political triumph for Frederick, who had appeared as the defender of the rights of the princes against Austria ; by ceding Bavaria and the Palatinate it strengthened the non-Habsburg party in the Empire. It reinforced the friendship between Austria and Prussia and led Joseph to incline towards an alliance with Russia.

VII. The Plönckland.

1783. Joseph made an agreement with the Elector Charles Theodore to exchange the Austrian Netherlands, except Losenberg and Namur, which were to be given to Prussia, for Bavaria ; Charles Theodore was to receive the title King of Burgundy.

Joseph's plan would have consolidated the Austrian territory and strengthened Austria against the growing power of Prussia. But the Duke of Zweibrücken appealed

to Prussia, Russia and France; the Bavarians and Belgians strongly objected, and Joseph was compelled to renounce his statesman-like scheme.

March, 1763. Frederick II, alarmed at Joseph's desire to strengthen the Imperial power, formed the *Fürstenbund* (including Prussia, Saxony, Brunswick and, later, Hanover, Brunswick, Hesse-Cassel, Hesse-Darmstadt, Nassau, Mainz and Trier) to maintain the rights of individual princes as settled by the Peace of Westphalia, and to prevent the union of Bavaria and Austria. The *Fürstenbund* ceased to have any importance after the death of Frederick II in 1786.

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- Maria Theresa* (Bright), Macmillan, chaps. IV, V, VI.
- Joseph II* (Bright), Macmillan, chaps. III-VI, IX.
- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, chap. xxviii.

JOSEPH II 1765-1790

I. Life.

The son of the Emperor Francis I (of Lorraine) and Maria Theresa.

November, 1763. Death from smallpox of his dearly loved first wife, Isabella of Parma.

1764. Elector King of the Romans.

January, 1765. Married Josephine of Bavaria, to whom he showed no signs of affection.

August, 1765. On the death of his father became Emperor and co-Regent with Maria Theresa of the Austrian territories.

May, 1767. Death of the Empress Josephine.

1772. The First Partition of Poland.¹

1773. Joseph obtained the Bohemia.²

¹ Page 298.

² Page 202.

- 1736-1739. The War of the Bavarian Succession.
 May, 1739. The Peace of Teschen.
 November 26th, 1740. Death of Maria Theresa.
 1751. Alliance between Austria and Russia.
 1751. The Edict of Tolerance.
 March, 1752. The Flavianbund.
 November, 1753. The Treaty of Fontainebleau.
 1756. Death of Frederick the Great.
 1787-1789. Rising in the Netherlands.
 1788-(1790). War with Turkey.
 1789. Disaffection in Hungary.
 January, 1790. The Austrian Netherlands declare themselves a republic.
 February 20th, 1790. Death of Joseph II.

II. Domestic Policy.

Joseph was the best of the benevolent despots of the eighteenth century. He aimed at creating an Austrian state, subject to the absolute power of the Crown, and at using that power to promote the good of his people and to secure equal rights of citizenship for all his subjects. His policy was based on reason and marked by enlightenment and humanity.

Joseph's schemes sometimes failed, partly because he did not make due allowance for existing conditions; partly because they were often in advance of the age; partly because his agents proved unable to carry out his benevolent intentions; sometimes owing to his own recklessness and impatience.

In Hungary and the Netherlands he failed to secure his ends. But in the Austrian territories "the public welfare had gained immensely by the extirpation of serfdom; agriculture, manufacturing industry and trade had received a mighty impulse; the power of the State had been exceedingly increased; a beneficial excitement had been produced in all the provinces of intellectual life."¹

¹ Hammer, quoted by Merivale, page 69.

III. Foreign Policy.

He tried to secure territory which would round off the Austrian state and thus enable him to check any danger from Prussia and re-establish the hegemony of the Empire in Germany. He took advantage of the weakness of Turkey to secure the Balkans, but failed to secure Bavaria and lost the Netherlands. His attempt to combine drastic internal reforms with an aggressive foreign policy imperilled the success of the former and ensured the failure of the latter.

He realised that Prussia was becoming a serious rival of Austria and relied on the support of his brother-in-law Louis XVI and, after 1781, of Catherine II. But France opposed his attempt to open the Scheldt; both France and Russia resisted his attempt to secure Bavaria and he did not get the effective help he expected from either.

IV. General.

The people of Vienna placed on Joseph's statue the words "Saluti publicis vixit non dix. sed tecum." But his well-meant schemes generally resulted in failure, and he suggested on his epitaph, "Here lies Joseph who failed in everything he undertook." His failures showed the fallacy of the theory of benevolent despotism.

His reforms had provoked strong opposition from all classes; before his death Hungary had compelled him to cancel most of his reforms; Turkey was at war with Austria; Prussia, which was negotiating treaties with Poland and Turkey, seemed likely to attack Austria; the Triple Alliance was suspicious of Austria, and Russia was too busy with Sweden to send help.

But his work in the Austrian territory proved permanent; "that feudal Austria has become an empire not destined to hold a forward place in the society of modern times is chiefly due to the legislation of Joseph."¹ The history of the nineteenth century proved the wisdom

¹ Bright.

of his desire to separate the Netherlands from Austria and the justice of his fear of Prussia. He did much real good; some of his unsuccessful plans proved more successful under more favourable conditions and with wiser guidance than he was qualified to give.

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LEOPOLD II, 1700-1732

Joseph II's schemes seemed to have ruined Austria. His death enabled his brother Leopold II, who succeeded him as King of Hungary and Bohemia, to make concessions which averted the grave danger with which Austria was threatened. Leopold's policy was, in many ways, the direct opposite of Joseph's.

Leopold had become Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1765 and had made Tuscany into a united state which he governed admirably. He made his son Ferdinand, Grand Duke, and gave his whole attention to Austrian problems.

I. Austrian Territories.

Leopold saw that the differences which divided his territories rendered it impossible to effect the consolidation and union at which Joseph had aimed.

A. Austria, Bohemia and the Tyrol.

Leopold refused to withdraw the Edict of Toleration, but by suppressing the general assemblies, abolishing the new system of taxation and restoring to the provinces a large measure of self-government he gained the gratitude and support of his people.

B. Hungary.

In spite of Joseph's concessions Hungary was discontented. The nobles, instigated by Prussia and knowing that the Turkish War would hamper Leopold, determined to limit the authority of the King; the people of Ruthenia, influenced by the French Revolution, asserted the rights of nations and of man, adopted the Social Contract, declared that the sovereignty of Hungary was vested jointly in the King and people.

Leopold conciliated the nobles by summoning the Hungarian Diet, which had not met for fifty years; but when the danger from Prussia had been removed by the Convention of Reichshausen,¹ he occupied Hungary with a large army, refused to accept the new constitution the nobles desired and was crowned King of Hungary on November 12th, 1790, on the old conditions.

He won over the nobles, who had been compelled to accept his authority, by introducing a new law which required that every King should be crowned within six months of his accession. The great Diet gave a large addition to the usual revenues; the popular movement in the towns was crushed. By a skilful combination of force and concession Leopold had re-established the royal power.

C. Belgium.

Before he left Florence Leopold had confirmed the *Jurors* Diet and offered an amnesty to the rebels, but his terms had been refused by Van der Noot.

(1) Differences in Belgium.

Differences arose between the Statists, led by Van der Noot, who desired a restoration of the old constitution under an elected government, and the Volontists, who, influenced by the French Revolution, advocated more democratic government. After much disturbance the Statists, assisted by the priests, who

¹ Page 201.

regarded the Vorsteeks as atheists, proved successful, and Vonck fled to Paris in April, 1793. In consequence the anti-Austrian party in the Netherlands was weakened and the National Assembly refused to send any help.

Nooit's action in making a Prussian, Schimmelpenninck, commander of the army instead of the Belgian Van der Meersch, caused much discontent; the clergy and nobles resented the authority exercised by the Assembly and the ascendancy of Van der Nooit.

Thus the rebels were weakened by internal dissensions and could look for no help from abroad.

(2) The Austrians reconquer the Netherlands.

a. By the Convention of Rastattbach in June, 1793, Austria had made an agreement with Prussia and an armistice with Turkey. She was therefore free to concentrate all her forces on the Netherlands.

b. After the Congress at Rastattbach the Triple Alliance assented to the re-establishment of Austrian rule in the Netherlands. Leopold rejected the offers he had made in Flanders, demanded the submission of the insurgents by November 21st, 1793, failing which he would send an army of 30,000 Austrians into the Netherlands, refused the request of the Triple Alliance that he would prolong the armistice.

November 21st, 1793. Invasion of the Netherlands by Bonaparte; the people, who found that their new government had proved no better than the old, offered little opposition. Bonaparte took Namur on November 24th and entered Brussels on December 2nd. Van der Nooit fled. The new republic came to a sudden end.

Leopold refused to confirm a Convention, signed by his envoy, guaranteeing the constitu-

tion as under Charles VI, insisted on the more stringent terms of Maria Theresa and maintained his position, in spite of the disapproval of the Triple Alliance.

June 1701. The Archduchess Christine and her husband Albert of Saxony re-visited Brussels as joint Viceroys.

I. Leopold and Germany.

October 4th, 1701. Leopold was crowned Emperor. The Convention of Bochumbeek¹ greatly strengthened the influence of Austria in Germany, and Leopold won popularity by supporting the princes of the Empire.

A. Liège.

Leopold compelled the Princes to evacuate Liège; an Austrian army restored the Prince-Bishop to his former position.

B. The Rhine.

Leopold strongly opposed the claim of the Constituent Assembly to prevent the Rhine princes from giving shelter to royalist designs in Alsace, Lorraine and French Comté.

C. Prussia.

Leopold was anxious to avoid war with Prussia, which would hinder him from reconquering the Netherlands and putting down disorder in Hungary. To win over Prussia he was willing to abandon the alliance with Russia, and he hoped by the moderation of his policy to win over Great Britain, which was hostile to Russia, and thus to weaken the Triple Alliance.

By the Convention of Bochumbeek, 1701, he damped Prussia, asserted the supremacy of Austria in Germany and paved the way for his success in the Netherlands and Hungary. But Leopold was suspicious of the

¹ Page 227.

designs of Catherine II in Turkey and Poland and concerned about the revolutionary movement in France; he therefore completely reversed the policy Austria had long pursued and concluded on July 28th, 1791, a treaty with Prussia by which a free Constitution of Poland was guaranteed.

February, 1792. Treaty of Berlin between Prussia and Austria.

III. Foreign Policy.

A. Turkey. The Treaty of Sistova.

August 1st, 1792. Austria and Turkey restored their former boundaries, but by a separate agreement Buda was given to Austria. In spite of the Convention of Rastatt.

B. Leopold and the French Revolution.

(1) Leopold's position.

Leopold had suffered from revolution in the Netherlands and a revolutionary element had appeared in Hungary; he was devoted to his sister Marie Antoinette, and as Emperor felt bound to protect the rights of the Rhine princes against the demands of the Constituent Assembly. But he was reluctant to go to war, which would leave Austria at the mercy of Russia. In the interests of Austria he felt bound to leave himself free to take any steps which might be necessitated by the actions of Turkey and Prussia, with whom he was not yet reconciled, and of Russia; he had little sympathy with the violence of the French designs at Coblenz.

(2) The Circular of Potsdam.

July 5th, 1791. Leopold was compelled to take action, owing to the failure of Louis XVI's flight to Varennes, and issued a Circular from Potsdam by which he invited the rulers of Europe to demand the release of Louis XVI and provide armed intervention if any

further indemnities were offered to the French King, Queen or Royal Family.

(2) The Declaration of Pillnitz, 1791.

August 29th, 1791. Leopold and Frederick William II, who were now allies, issued the Declaration of Pillnitz declining to support the extreme plans of D'Artois and promising armed intervention if all the other Powers would co-operate. But Great Britain was definitely neutral and would not intervene, and thus the Declaration was an assurance of peace rather than war.

September 14th, 1791. By Leopold's advice, Louis XVI accepted the new constitution.

February 7th, 1792. Seeing the impossibility of averting war with France, Leopold made with Frederick William II the Treaty of Berlin, by which each guaranteed the other's territories and agreed on mutual support in case France declared war.

March 1st, 1792. Death of Leopold.

April 20th, 1792. France declared war on Austria.

IV. General.

Although contrary to the Treaty of Reichshofen, Leopold had raised Ossenbeek from the Twins and had refused to consent to the Convention drawn up at The Hague guaranteeing the Constitution of the Netherlands as under Charles VI, his policy generally was marked by moderation, common sense and tact. In two years he had remedied the evils that had arisen in the Austrian territories owing to Joseph's policy; he did his best to avert war with France, and with his death, which was a calamity for Europe, the last hope of peace perished.

Reference:

Revolutionary Europe (Moss Stephen), Hingham, chap. III.

ELIZABETH FARNESE, OCTOBER 26TH, 1692-JULY 20TH, 1766

I. General Policy.

The policy of Elizabeth Farnese was European rather than Spanish, and may be regarded as a successful attempt to reverse some of the most important clauses of the Peace of Utrecht. Her main object of securing Italian principalities for her sons Don Carlos and Duke Philip led to relations, friendly or hostile, with the Empire, France, Savoy, Great Britain, Sweden, Russia, Prussia and the Italian States.

She was personally unfriendly towards France, but the desire of her husband Philip V to secure the Crown of France and Elizabeth's wish to obtain the aid of France in her Italian schemes and in opposition to Great Britain had an important effect on her policy.

The Spaniards strongly resisted the occupation of Gibraltar by Great Britain and the attempts of the British to establish trade with the Spanish West Indies. But Elizabeth nevertheless cultivated friendly relations with Great Britain, in order to further her schemes in Italy.

II. The Italian Duchies.

Elizabeth was a thorough Italian. She resented the authority Charles VI had secured in Italy by the acquisition of the Kingdoms of Sardinia and Naples. She feared that he would try to annex Parma and Tuscany. She was determined to weaken the Austrian supremacy and to ensure the succession of her sons to Parma and Tuscany, of which she was the direct heiress, and to Tuscany, to which she had claims owing to her descent from the Medici.

¹ Page 10.

A. The establishment of Don Carlos in Parma and Piacenza.
 (1) Alberoni¹

Charles VI wished to exchange Sicily for Sardinia, which had been granted to Savoy by the Peace of Utrecht. Alberoni resisted the exchange, partly because Sicily was to pass to Spain if the House of Savoy failed, partly because the occupation of Sicily by Austria would have increased the power of Spain in the Mediterranean. He refused the suggestion made by Stanhope, that Charles, if allowed to exchange Sardinia for Sicily, should guarantee the succession of Don Carlos to² Parma and Piacenza; tried, unsuccessfully, to induce Russia and Prussia to attack Austria and Sweden to attack England; occupied Sardinia in November, 1717, and invaded Sicily in July, 1718.

The formation of the Quadruple Alliance and the British victory off Cape Passaro in August, 1718, led to the fall of Alberoni. But the Quadruple Alliance guaranteed the succession of Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany to Don Carlos or some other son of Elisabeth Farnese.

(2) Rappoza.³

A marriage alliance⁴ between France and Spain was made by Dubois, who wished to maintain friendship with both Spain and Great Britain.

(June 14th, 1720). Abdication of Philip V.
 August 30th, 1720. Death of King Louis XIV.

Charles VI had shown no intention of fulfilling his promise to give Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany to Don Carlos. But Austria was threatened by the Treaty of Hanover between Great Britain, France and Prussia⁵; Spain was affronted by the repudiation of the Infanta and the marriage of Louis XV to Marie Leszczynski; George I refused to restore Gibraltar. Largely owing to the diplomacy of Rappoza, Austria and Spain made

¹ Page 11.
² Page 22.

³ Genealogical Tree, page 10.
⁴ Page 23.

⁵ Page 21 et seqq.

in November, 1735, the Secret Treaty of Vienna which arranged for the marriage of Don Carlos and Don Philip to two of Charles VI's daughters. But difficulties arose; Charles delayed the proposed marriage; the failure of Sippard's plan was followed by his fall in May, 1736.

From this time Elizabeth relied upon Spanish ministers.

- (3) Don Carlos secured Parma, Piacenza and the succession to Tuscany.

The unprofitable Austrian alliance was unpopular in Spain; the birth of the Dauphin in 1736 extinguished Philip V's chance of securing the throne of France; the hated Elizabeth had felt towards the British was now directed against the Emperor.

1739. By the Treaty of Berlin, France and Great Britain guaranteed the succession of Don Carlos to Parma and Piacenza and agreed that Spanish troops should occupy the duchies.

1740: Carlos secured Torna and Piacenza.

Thus Elizabeth had secured the modification of the Peace of Utrecht; made Spain, which in 1713 had been weak and divided, into a European power; assured a foothold in Italy; established Don Carlos as the master of Italian territory which divided the Angevines in the North of Italy from those in Naples.

B. Don Carlos obtains Naples.

- (1) The Treaty of Turin.

Elizabeth resolved to take advantage of the War of the Polish Succession to attack the Emperor and strengthen the Spanish position in Italy. The refusal of Charles Emmanuel¹ to surrender Sardinia and the hated Elizabeth felt towards him prevented an alliance between Sardinia and Spain, each of which suspected the

¹ Page 22.

² He had become King of Sardinia on the abdication of Victor Amadeus, September, 1720.

other's designs on Italy. But the Treaty of Turin,¹ between France and Sardinia guaranteed the succession of Don Carlos to the Two Sicilies and the cession of the Missions to Sardinia. Thus the extension of Spanish power in the north of Italy, which would have threatened Sardinia, was averted.

(2) *The First Family Compact.*²

November 16, 1733. By the First Family Compact, made by the Treaty of the Barriar, France and Spain were eternal allies; "provided that all other treaties between France and Spain and between their Majesties and other powers shall no longer have effect between France and Spain," i.e. annulled the Peace of Utrecht; success to Don Carlos Parma, Piacenza and Tuscany and, subject to the Treaty of Turin, any other conquests he might make in Italy.

(2) *The war in Italy.*³

(3) July, 1735. Don Carlos crowned King of the Two Sicilies at Palermo.

(3) October 3rd, 1735. By the Preliminaries of the Treaty of Vienna, Don Carlos gave up Parma and Piacenza to the Emperor and the succession to Tuscany to the Duke of Lorraine and received the Two Sicilies and the Fratelli.

C. *Don Philip obtains Parma, Piacenza and Gaetano.*

The War of the Austrian Succession gave another opening for Elisabeth. She strongly wished the cession of Tuscany to Lorraine; she wished to secure Parma and Piacenza for Don Philip, but realised that Sardinia would oppose the extension of Spanish power in the north of Italy.

The marriage of Don Philip in 1739 to Louise Elisabeth of France strengthened the union of France and Spain, but the French were not popular in Spain; Fleury was

¹ Page 27.

² Page 21.

³ Page 28.

disappointed, because Elizabeth refused to make a commercial treaty with France; Elizabeth was disappointed that France did not help her in the "War of Jenkins' Ear" which broke out with Great Britain in 1739.

On the death of Charles VI in 1740 Philip V claimed all the hereditary possessions of the Hapsburgs; but the main object of Philip and Elizabeth was to obtain the Italian provinces. Elizabeth refused to adopt Fleury's suggestion that Spain and Sardinia should unite against the Austrians in Italy and determined to act alone.

December, 1741. Moncenisio landed a Spanish force at Otranto. But a British fleet threatened to bombard Naples and compelled Charles III¹ to withdraw Neapolitan troops from the North; Gage was posted at Campo Santo on February 8th, 1742, and Elizabeth made overtures to Charles Emmanuel.

September 13th, 1742. Great Britain, anxious to secure the co-operation of Sardinia, compelled Maria Theresa to make with Charles Emmanuel the Treaty of Worms by which she ceded to him Parma, Piacenza and part of the Milanese.

October, 1743. France, which had recently declared war on Sardinia, made with Spain the Second Family Compact,² by which she provided the Milanese, Parma and Piacenza to Don Philip.

1743-1748. The war in Italy (page 27).

1748. By the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, Don Philip obtained Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla; Spain gave up Savoy and Nice to Charles Emmanuel.

D. General.

Elizabeth had made ample provision for her son, and by establishing Spanish influence in Italy had returned to the policy of Ferdinand the Catholic. She had averted the danger from Sardinia and triumphed, in spite of the somewhat shifty diplomacy of France.

She was a thorough Italian, and her success, largely

¹ Don Carlos.

² Page 26.

due to a desire to aggrandize her own family, expelled the Americans from a considerable portion of Italy, and both Don Carlos and Don Philip were warmly welcomed by their new subjects.

Elizabeth strongly objected to D'Angennes's scheme for uniting Italy under the leadership of Sardinia. But the union of Nice and Savoy strengthened Sardinia, which in the nineteenth century was destined to become the head of a united Italy.

III. Spain and Great Britain.

A. Causes of disagreement.

(1) Gibraltar.

The Spaniards strongly resented the cession of Gibraltar to Great Britain by the Peace of Utrecht. In 1721 George I promised to restore Gibraltar to Spain, but the promise was not kept. Assistance in the recovery of Gibraltar was procured by the Emperor Charles VI, by the Treaty of Vienna,¹ in 1736; by France, by the Treaty of the Encarcel,² in 1738; and the Treaty of Fontainebleau³ in 1743.

(2) The West Indies.

1739. Although war was not formally declared against Great Britain, the Spaniards unsuccessfully besieged Gibraltar, hoping to secure the help of Charles VI in accordance with the Treaty of Vienna. The fear that if Spain formally declared war France would help Great Britain prevented a declaration of war.

By the *Asiento*, a contract which formed part of the Peace of Utrecht, British trade with the Spanish Indies was limited to the right of importing into America 4800 slaves a year for thirty years and of sending one ship a year to Perobello. The contract led to persistent straggling on the part of the British and to reprisals by the Spanish *governadores*. The British claim to the right of cutting lignwood is

¹ Page 20.

² Page 21.

³ Page 24.

Hostilities and disputes as to the boundary of Georgia, colonised by Britain in 1733, aggravated the friction between the countries.

The development of commerce and industry in Spain made the Indies of great importance as an outlet for trade, and the British trade tended to reduce the commercial value to Spain of the Spanish colonies.

The dispute assumed a religious aspect. Caparred British sailors were handed over to the Inquisition, and "Popish and gorda-coats" were almost convertible terms."

[Great indignation was caused by the discovery that the *Moors of Oran*, who revolted the Spaniards in 1739, were using English cannon and gunpowder, and by the despatch of Haddock's squadron to the coast of Spain in May, 1739.]

B. War.

War was arrested for some time owing to the pacific policy of Walpole; Dubois and Flattery wished to remain on friendly terms with Great Britain, and Spain got no help from France, in spite of the Family Compact of 1731 and the recent marriage of Don Philip to Louise Elizabeth.

1739. The *gorda-coats* seized the British ship *Roebuck*, and her captain, Jenkins, lost his ear.

Janyary, 1739. A Convention was made between Spain and Great Britain which seemed to settle the dispute. But the opposition, more anxious to assist Walpole from power than to avoid a war, protested against the continuance of the Spanish right of search to the West Indies; the refusal of Spain to admit claims made by the South Sea Company; the reduction, on account of Spanish losses in the battle of Cape Passaro, of the amount payable as compensation by Spain by £50,000.

"At a decisive moment, when the tension between the

Bourbon Courts was exercised; when Spain might easily have been attracted into an intimate alliance, the energies of the Parliamentarian opposition and the action of a handful of speculative merchants drove Spain back into the arms of France, tampering the substantial renewal of the aforesaid Family Compact of 1701.¹⁴

The War of Jenkins' Ear.

October 23rd, 1739. Walpole forced by popular clamour to declare war against Spain.

November 21st, 1739. Vernon captured Porto Bello, 1740. Failure of British attack on Cartagena and Cuba, 1742. Great Britain joined Austria and Sardinia in the War of the Austrian Succession.

1743. The British fleet compelled the Neapolitan troops to leave Gages' army.

February, 1744. Decisive action off Toulon by the British Fleet under Mathew and a combined French and Spanish fleet.

1748. Spain accepted the Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle and made peace with Great Britain.

C. The Pretender.

The Spaniards endeavoured, unsuccessfully, to weaken Great Britain by supporting the Pretender.

1717. Alberoni tried to induce the King of Sweden to invade England and proclaim the Pretender as King.

March, 1719. A Spanish fleet, carrying Jacobites to Scotland, was wrecked off Cape Finisterre. Surrender of the Jacobites and Spaniards, who had escaped, at Glensidel.

1735. On Riggarda's return from Vienna, the Pretender's restoration became a prominent feature of Elizabeth's programme, and an invasion of England was planned on his behalf.

¹⁴ Armstrong, *Elizabeth Farnese*, page 328.

D. Treaties with Great Britain.

Although the causes of dissatisfaction between Spain and Great Britain continued, circumstances sometimes led to friendly relations between the two Powers. Walpole, Orleans and Flury strove to maintain peace between Great Britain and France, and French statesmen often attempted to reconcile Spain and Britain.

July, 1731. Largely owing to the efforts of Orleans Great Britain and Spain joined forces in a defensive alliance.

November 2d, 1739. Owing to the treachery of the Emperor Charles VI to surrender the Italian duchies to Don Carlos, Spain made the Treaty of Seville with Great Britain and France, who agreed that Spanish garrisons should be introduced into Tuscany and Piedmont.

E. Portugal.

The marriage of Elizabeth's stepson Ferdinand (VI) to Barbara of Portugal, and of her daughter Maria Anne to Joseph, Prince of Brazil,¹ established friendly relations between Spain and Portugal.

F. Elizabeth and Spain.

A. Philip V.

Elizabeth gained great influence² over her weak husband Philip, to whom she was sincerely attached; her "constant presence became a necessity of his life"; except for a quarter of an hour a day, when her attendant was putting on her shoes and stockings, and for about an hour and a half each week, when Philip was attending a Council meeting, Elizabeth was always with her husband. To dispel the melancholia from which Philip suffered she engaged Farinelli to sing to him, and Farinelli sang the same five songs for about three thousand nights in succession "to the infatuated King who howled them after him song for song."

¹ King Joseph I succeeded to Portugal, 1750-1777.

² See Elizabeth Farnese, Chap. viii.

B. The recovery of Spain.

Elizabeth, "the Scrooge," was unpopular in Spain; "the Spaniards do not like me, but I hate them too." But she gave the country vigour and acted "as a disagreeable tonic to Spain." Her austere policy led to the revival of the military and naval powers of Spain. "Spain was a military nation, which decayed in peace. . . . Elizabeth lived for it, adored it, and stirred its energies."

Both Alberoni and Riqueda strengthened the ports, built arsenals and shipbuilding yards, and improved the navy. Alberoni endeavoured to control Spanish trade and stimulated industry and commerce; Riqueda supported the Spanish wool trade and projected a Bank of Madrid; both adopted a policy of Protection; everything depended on the trade with the Indies, and the survival of Spanish colonies necessitated successful opposition to British trade with the Spanish colonies.

But "the indispensable regulation was time," and the early fall of Alberoni and Riqueda prevented Spain from becoming a great commercial and industrial country, while "the dynastic interests of Elizabeth Tudor placed Spain in a false position and hampered the work of reform."

C. Elizabeth Italian rather than Spanish.

Elizabeth's influence on Spain was indirect; "the nation never assimilated her, nor she the nation." The main interests were Italian; but the establishment of Don Carlos and Don Parma in Italy greatly increased the prestige of Spain.

VI. General.**A. Historical importance.**

Elizabeth, prompted by her intense sympathy with Italy and her love for her own family, did much to weaken in Italy the Austrian influence which had been

established by the Peace of Utrecht. Italy affected the policy of Austria, France and Spain; and it is not too much to say that Elisabeth altered the political system of Europe.

For the first twelve years of her reign she was under the influence of Alberoni and Ripperda. But for the last twenty she ruled upon Spain—Porto, La Quadra and Esquemada—and was her own mistress.

B. Personal.

Elisabeth was impulsive and ambitious; her practical ability, skilful diplomacy and steadiness of purpose enabled her to attain her main object of establishing her sons as rulers of Italian states. "She applied to politics an absolute and inflexible will."

Philip and Elisabeth maintained in their Court a high standard of honour, and their travelled moral characters compared favourably with those of other European monarchs. Elisabeth's high spirits, her conversational powers, her passion for her children's advancement, enabled her to endure the appalling monotony of Court life; but her hot temper sometimes added to the difficulties of "the tartagiant of Spain."

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VI, chaps. vi, v.
- Elisabeth Farnese* (Armstrong), Longmans.

SPAIN UNDER FERDINAND VI AND CHARLES III, 1746-1788

I. Ferdinand VI, 1746-1759.

On the accession of her stepson Ferdinand VI, son of Philip V and Louise of Savoy, Elisabeth Farnese lost the influence she had so long exercised in Spanish politics.

A. Foreign policy.

(1) Ferdinand's prudent neutrality.

Ferdinand's wife, Barbara of Portugal, a descendant of John of Gaunt, and the Foreign Minister Cavarjal and Wall, an Irishman, favoured more friendly relations with Great Britain; the attempt of Godoy, the Minister for War, to form a close alliance with France failed, largely owing to the skill of the British ambassador, Sir Benjamin Kennet.

In 1746 France tried to secure the active help of Spain and offered to cede Minorca; Great Britain offered to give up Gibraltar in return for a Spanish alliance; Maria Theresa appealed to Ferdinand, who was a devout Roman Catholic, to join her in an attempt to anticipate heresy.

But Ferdinand realised that peace was essential for the reforms that Spain badly needed; he was unwilling to use the resources of Spain to promote Bourbon interests; he refused to make a close alliance with any power and in foreign policy adopted a policy of prudent neutrality.

(2) Some details.

a. The Settlement of Italy, 1748.

The defeat of the French at Blenheim¹ on July 13th, 1747, practically ended the war in Italy.

By the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle² Ferdinand was compelled to restore Nice and Savoy to Charles Emmanuel, but secured the recognition of Don Philip as Duke of Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla.

b. Commercial treaty with Great Britain.

October, 1748. By the Treaty of Aquisgras Great Britain secured the recognition of her commercial privileges in Spanish America and gave up the *Asiento*³ on payment of £160,000.

c. Treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle 1748 (page 110).

¹ Page 91.² Page 94.³ Vol. II, page 262.

B. Internal policy.

Important reforms were effected in Spain largely owing to Bassana, who reorganized taxation, improved agriculture, made roads and canals and, in anticipation of possible war with England, reorganized the navy and constructed a strong naval base at Ferrol.

Ferdinand "had found the country's finances ruined and the navy in a state of decay ; he left a formidable fleet and a balance of three millions sterling in the national treasury."

II. Charles III, 1759-1788.

Charles King of the Two Sicilies, son of Philip V and Elisabeth Farnese, succeeded his half-brother. He resigned to his son Ferdinand the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, where, with the assistance of Bassana, he had introduced many measures of reform. The insanity of Ferdinand VI, following the death of Queen Barbara on August 27th, 1759, had hindered the development of Spain, and Charles' wife, Queen María Amalia of Saxony, strongly supported the continuance of a peaceful policy. But her death in July, 1788, Charles' strong sympathy with France, his resentment at British aggression in the Spanish Indies, and the skilful diplomacy of Chastellux led to alliance with France and war with Great Britain.

A. Spain, France and Great Britain.**(i) The Seven Years' War.****a. The declaration of War.**

Great Britain rejected the offer of mediation made by Charles III. Charles was annoyed at the contraband trade which Great Britain carried on with Spanish colonies, at the settlements made by Great Britain in Honduras, at the searching of Spanish ships by British privateers at-war and at the refusal of Great Britain to allow Spaniards to fish off Newfoundland ; he

resented Pitt's refusal to redress the Spanish grievances; he feared that if Great Britain was successful in the Seven Years' War the world would attack the Spanish colonies.

1761. Charles III made the Family Compact with France. Pitt resigned because Parliament refused to declare war on Spain, and thus gave Charles time to complete his naval and military preparations.

January, 1762. Great Britain declared war on Spain.

a. The War (page 148).

1761-1762. Failure of Anson's invasion of Portugal which followed the refusal of King Joseph to close his ports to British shipping.¹

1762. The British took Martinique (February), Havana (August) and Manila (September).

b. The Peace of Paris, 1763.

February 10th, 1763. By the Peace of Paris Great Britain restored Havana and Manila, received Florida and the right of cutting log-wood in Honduras. The Spaniards reoccupied Portugal and restored Brazil.

(ii) The Falkland Isles.

Disputing between Spain and Great Britain continued owing to British smuggling in Spanish America and to Charles' refusal to pay a ransom for Manila.

1770. Spanish troops expelled the British sailors from the Falkland Isles. The fall of Chacala so weakened Spain that Charles was compelled to restore the Falkland Isles. He thus averted war which had seemed imminent.

(iii) Great Britain and the American Colonies.

The death of King Joseph and the fall of Potosí in 1770 enabled Florida Blanca to make a perpetual alliance with Portugal which greatly strengthened Spain.

¹ Page 138.

² Page 144.

[This alliance was strengthened in 1778 by the marriage of a son and granddaughter of Charles III to a Portuguese princess and prince.]

June, 1779. Charles, who had vainly offered to mediate between France and Great Britain in the hope of getting Gibraltar, declared war.

1780. Florida Bocca supported the Armed Neutrality of the North.¹

1779-1782. Siege of Gibraltar.²

February, 1782. A Franco-Spanish force took Minorca.

1783. By the Treaty of Versailles³, Charles obtained Florida and Minorca, but not Gibraltar.

B. Internal policy.

(1) Florida Bocca's reforms.

Florida Bocca, assisted by Compromiso, carried on the work of reform. Oppressive taxes were abolished or reduced and an income-tax imposed; the National Bank was founded. Free trade was established with the colonies. Manufactures were stimulated by Government patronage and protected by tariffs from foreign competition. New roads were made; the Canal of Aragón was extended, that of Old Castile constructed. Agriculture improved; many trees were planted and the cultivation of tobacco was禁。New schools were founded and the work of the Universities prospered. The laws were codified and a more efficient system of justice established.

Treaties made with Constantinople (1783), Tripoli (1784), Algiers and Tunis (1786) protected the Mediterranean coast from piracy and promoted the extension of agriculture and the increase of population.

The cost of the new measures was met partly by the confiscation of the property of the Jésuita, partly by a special levy on colonial incomes. The heavy cost of the wars against Britain hampered the work of reorganizing the country.

¹ Page 196.

² Page 302.

³ Page 226.

(ii) The Church.

Although Charles III was a devout Roman Catholic he asserted his authority over the Church. The amount of land held in Mortmain was limited; Papal interference was checked; the powers of the Inquisition were restricted; bishops and clergy were compelled to obey the King.

The feeling against the Jesuits, which had led to their expulsion from Portugal in 1759¹ and France in 1764² led to their expulsion from Spain in 1767.

Aranda, a disciple of Voltaire, was opposed to them; they were accused of opposing the authority of the King and of stirring up riots in Madrid.

March 11th, 1767. Six Jesuit colleges were suppressed in Madrid.

April 2nd, 1767. All Jesuits expelled without warning from Spain.

C. General.

Charles III was a pious and industrious King whose successful experience in Sicily enabled him to do much to promote the best interests of Spain in spite of the war with Britain. He was a benevolent despot and his power was absolute; he never surrendered the Cortes after his accession and asserted his authority over the Church. But his successor, Charles IV, proved weak and incapable, and under him Spain fell into its old condition of distress, stagnation and anarchy.

Reference:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. xii.

POMBAL.

I. General.

A. Personal.

Joseph de Carvalho e Melo, created Marquis of Pombal by King Joseph I in 1759, was one of the

¹ Page 307.

² Page 47.

greatest of the Liberal statesmen of the eighteenth century. He was Portuguese ambassador in England from 1739-1748 and in Vienna from 1748-1754. In 1750 he was appointed Foreign Secretary and became practically the absolute ruler of Portugal under King Joseph I, 1750-1777.

B. The condition of Portugal.

Portugal in 1750 was "well-nigh ruined." John V (1706-1750) had been the slave of the Jesuits, and the heavy payments he made to Rome had impoverished the country. The nobles were unruly, the administration incompetent and corrupt. Great Britain controlled Portuguese commerce. The army was inefficient, brigandage was common, foreign trade with the East had almost ceased.

II. The Work of Pombal.

A. Trade and the Colonies.

Pombal wished to make Portugal independent of British trade by developing the resources of the country and her colonies. He adopted a system of protection and allowed nobles to engage in trade. His policy was enlightened, but he was ruthless in carrying it out.

(i) Agriculture.

He did all he could to fatten agriculture in the hope of making Portugal self-supporting.

1756. Formation of the Oporto Wine Company which had a first claim on local wines. The British strongly resented this measure, which hampered their trade and which they regarded as a violation of the rights given to them by the Methuen Treaty of 1703.

(ii) Paraguay.

1750. Spain ceded to Portugal a portion of Paraguay bordering on Brazil.

1756. Pombal formed the Paráibo and Paráiba Companies to develop trade in Paraguay and enfranchised the Indians in certain districts.

Strong resistance of the Jesuits, who objected to the transfer from Spain to Portugal of the territory which they had opened up, and resented the competition of the new companies with their trade.

(3) The East Indies.

1770. Pombal recognised the government of Goa.

(4) Morocco.

A commercial treaty with Morocco stimulated trade and diminished the danger from piracy.

B. The earthquake at Lisbon, 1755.

November 1st, 1755. An earthquake, followed by a tidal wave, destroyed Lisbon; 20,000 people perished. Pombal relieved distress and was mainly responsible for the rebuilding of the city.

C. The Church.

The Church opposed Pombal's reforms.

(1) The Inquisition.

He limited the authority of the Inquisition which was required to obtain royal authority for auto-da-fé.

(2) The Jesuits.

Pombal secured the dismissal of Mencio, the King's confessor, and the expulsion of Jesuits from the Court.

1766. Owing to the opposition the Jesuits had offered in Paraguay, Pombal complained to Pope Benedict XIV, whose representative, Cardinal Baldanza, ordered the Jesuits to give up trade and to cease from proselytising.

1759. Excommunication of the Marquis of Pombal, who, like most of his class, strongly objected to the limitation of the privileges of the nobles, on a charge of plotting to assassinate the King. The Jesuits were accused of complicity.

January 19th, 1759. Confirmation of the sentence of the Jesuits.

September, 1759. Expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, Brazil and the East Indies.

D. The Army and Navy.

A British force had helped Portugal in 1762.¹ Pombal resolved to create a Portuguese army strong enough to defend the country, and a force of 32,000 men was organised and trained according to Prussian methods. Fortresses were strengthened and a navy of nineteen ships established.

E. Education.

The Jesuit schools were replaced by 637 elementary and secondary schools; a Royal College of Science, administered by laymen, was established at Lisbon; the University of Coimbra was taken from the Jesuits and remodelled. A Commercial School was founded in Lisbon.

F. Other reforms.

Pombal improved the Civil Service, simplified legal procedure, reduced the cost of government and checked the corruption of officials.

On the death of Joseph I on February 20th, 1777, Pombal was deprived of office and banished to his estates. Queen Maria, the wife of Pedro III, continued his policy, to some extent.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, pp. 384-396.

The Statesman's Year-Book (Hansell), Rivington, pp. 294-295.

¹ Page 346.

THE REIGN OF LOUIS XVI. 1774-1792

The study of the conditions of France under Louis XVI¹ reveals the chief causes which led to the French Revolution. But the people of France were devoted to the Monarchy, and the Revolution might have been averted if Louis XVI had introduced constitutional government and established the *Franchise* on a sound basis. His failure precipitated the "déluge" which Louis XV had foreseen.

I. The Accession of Louis XVI.

Louis XVI, grandson of Louis XV, was a man of strictly moral life and simple tastes; he was very fond of hunting, and spent much time working in his blacksmith's shop: one of his occupations was "the locksmith." He sincerely desired to rule for the good of his people. But he was awkward, tactless, indecisive and utterly lacking in determination and self-confidence.

May, 1770, Louis (XVI) married Marie Antoinette, daughter of Maria Theresa. Her frivolity, extravagance, indifference, the perverse influence she exercised over her weak husband and her interference with his ministers accused her of "L'Antirévolution," which was one of the ruling moods of the Revolution.

II. The Finances.

A. Turgot, August, 1774-May, 1776.

Louis dismissed the triumvirate² Maurepas, Ternay, and d'Aguesseau, and appointed as chief minister the aged Count de Maurepas, who confirmed the King in his reluctance to act with the decisiveness that the times required. Louis made Vergennes Foreign Minister; he

¹ Pages 41-59.

² Page 48.

made Turgot Minister of Marine and, in August, 1774, Controller-General of Finances. In July 1776 Maurepas became Minister of the Interior.

Turgot had shown himself a just and able administrator as Intendant of Limousin; he was a statesman anxious to remedy the evils of the time which he clearly perceived, but hasty of temper and indifferent in language. His aim was to raise no new loans and impose no new taxes but to avoid national bankruptcy by vigorous economy.

(I) The restoration of the Parliament.

August, 1774. Against Turgot's advice, Louis XVI recalled the Parliament which by its factiousness and opposition to reform helped to bring on the Revolution.

(II) Turgot's reforms.

a. Financial.

Turgot "introduced new order and method into every part of the financial administration." He abolished custom offices, established financial control over all departments of State, stopped the payment of gratuities to Farmers-General, checked the extravagance of the Court and reformed the system of Government contracts.

He suppressed the servile, which he replaced by a tax on landowners, and the jura, or privileges of the guilds; he abolished all restrictions on the corn and wine trades. In time these measures would have brought great relief to peasants and artisans. They were opposed by the Parliament, but carried at a *fa de justice* on March 13th, 1776.

Turgot's policy proved more successful. He changed an annual deficit of twenty-one million livres into a surplus of eleven; he assured such confidence that he raised a heavy loan from Dutch bankers at only four per cent.

¹ Page 9.

A. Administration.

Turgot opposed the idea of summoning the States-General, but formed a plan for improving the administration by establishing a series of elective assemblies in parishes, municipalities and provinces at the head of which was to be a supreme council composed of ministers and provincial representatives. Turgot fell from power before he could carry out this plan.

(1) Turgot's fall.

The bad harvest of 1775 caused distress among the peasantry and bread riots broke out; discontented officials, guild members, chartiers and nobles, the Parliament, the King's brothers and Marie Antoinette, who openly showed her opposition to Turgot, conspired against him.

May 12th, 1776. Louis XVI, unable to resist their pressure, dismissed the only man who could have saved France.

B. Necker, October, 1776-May, 1791.

(1) Reaction.

Malherbe, who had tried to reform prisons, to remove the legal discrimination of Protestants, to abolish torture and *lèse de majesté*, retired in May, 1776, owing to the opposition of the Queen and Monseigneur. Under Clément, the new Controller-General, the *accise*, *farmedes* and restrictions on corn were reimposed; a royal lottery was arranged to raise funds.

(2) Policy of Necker.

October 2nd, 1776. Necker, a successful Swiss banker, was appointed Director of the Treasury, but as he was a Protestant he was not made Controller-General nor a member of the Royal Council. He checked the reaction against Turgot's policy, with which he had much sympathy; favoured the

establishment of provincial assemblies; reduced tolls, Court-expenses and pensions; made more advantageous arrangements for the farming of taxes.

The cost to France of the American War (1778-1783), which Turgot and Necker had strongly opposed, was not less than \$20,000,000 and made the collapse of the finances impossible, while the success of the Americans strengthened the demand for popular government in France. Necker met the difficulty by floating loans, amounting to about \$30,000,000 livres, which his financial reputation enabled him to raise on favorable terms, but which proved an intolerable burden.

January, 1781. Necker issued the *Coupons Ronds de l'Etat des finances*, and thus for the first time a public statement of the financial position was issued. The *Coupons Ronds* gave far too favorable an account of the position, but won great popularity for Necker.

May 18th, 1781. Fall of Necker, largely owing to the jealousy of Marigny.

Necker prepared the way for the Revolution by giving new power to provincial assemblies: "his taxation led to the States-General, his loans gave the people convincing insight into the condition of the finances."¹ The period of administrative reform ended with his fall.

C. Calonne, December, 1788-April, 1787.

D'Omnesse, Contrôleur-Général for seven months in 1788, by postponing the payment of public obligations had practically confessed that France was bankrupt. He was succeeded by Calonne, who owed his appointment to the influence of the Comte d'Artige, and the ladies of the Court.

(1) Calonne's reckless policy.

Calonne attempted to disguise the financial position by lavish expenditure. He tried to win the favor of

¹ Gibbons.

the Royal Family by buying St. Cloud for the King and paying the debts of his brothers ; he spent vast sums on roads and harbours. The revenue increased greatly owing to the peace, to the development of trade with America, to a commercial treaty concluded with England in 1786, to excellent harvests. But expenditure exceeded income and, in spite of the opposition of Parliament, Calonne tried to meet it by raising successive loans which made the financial position worse. " Since the outbreak of the American war the deficit had grown to the enormous sum of 140 millions."¹

(2) The Queen.

The Queen had two sons,² and the Duke of Orléans, who had hoped to succeed to the throne, became more vindictive towards the Royal Family. In 1785 the Cardinal de Rohan was accused of purchasing a chartered nobility for the Queen in order to win her favour, and of forging her signature ; the grave scandal that arose seriously affected the Queen.

(3) The fall of Calonne.

In 1786, finding the position hopeless, Calonne returned to the policy of Turgot ; advocated the establishment of provincial assemblies and the imposition of a stamp tax and a land tax to which all should be liable ; proposed to suppress the *cercle*, diminish the *gobelet* and remove Customs duties. Knowing that the Parliament would resist these proposals, he persuaded the King to summon an Assembly of Notables which he hoped would support them. The Assembly, in which the Third Estate had few representatives, met on February 2nd, 1787. The Assembly of Notables declared against Calonne's proposals and drove him from office on April 17th.

¹ Russell.

² The wife died in 1788.

D. Léonard de Brienne.

Léonard de Brienne, Archbishop of Trévières, now became chief of the Council of Finance.

(I) The Assembly of Notables.

The Assembly granted Brienne's request for a new loan of 60,000,000 livres, but refused to agree to the stamp tax or land tax and was dismissed on May 29th, 1787.

The Assembly had done nothing to relieve the financial stress, had lowered the position of the Crown by its successful opposition to Calonne, had enkindled the people against the nobles and clergy by insisting on the right of the latter to privilege in taxation.

(II) The Parliament of Paris.

The Parliament registered decrees abolishing restrictions on the corn trade, establishing provincial assemblies and changing the corvée into a money tax, but refused to accept the stamp tax or land tax, and asserted that the right to levy a tax rested solely with the States-General.

August 6th, 1787. The decrees were passed by a *l'Assemblée des Justices*.

August 7th, 1787. Parliament denied the validity of a *l'Assemblée des Justices* and thus gained, temporarily, great popularity.

August 14th, 1787. Louis XVI exiled the Parliament to Troyes.

September 24th, 1787. Louis XVI and Brienne agreed to drop the demand for the stamp and land tax, and the Parliament returned to Paris.

May 6th, 1788. Brienne persuaded Louis to hold a *l'Assemblée des Justices*, which suppressed the Parliament, established a *Cour Plénière* in its place and confined Provincial Parlements to judicial work.

The Parliament of Paris had devised no constructive financial policy and had hampered proposals which

might have had good effect. It had shown the inability of the Government to deal with the financial problem and strengthened the demand for a revival of the *Bureau-Général* as the only possible means of financial reform; in March, 1788, the deficit amounted to 180,000,000 livres. The Government had been further discredited by its unsuccessful attempt to support the opponents of the *Stadholder* in Holland¹ in 1787.

(3) Provincial Parlements.

The edicts of May 8th, 1786, provoked strong resistance in the provinces, which greatly raised the old provincial privileges.

a. Brittany.

The Parliament refused to accept the edict; the Estates sent a protest to Paris.

b. Dauphiné.

June, 1788. The nobles summoned a meeting of the Estates of Dauphiné which met at Vizille on July 1st and, under the able leadership of Mounier, "condemned the Edict of May, demanded the convocation of the States-General and of the Estates in each Province and required that in the Estates of Dauphiné the Third Estate should have as many representatives as the nobles and clergy together."

. . . An entire Province had given itself a political constitution, and had associated to resolve to gain one for the whole kingdom."²

August 16th, 1788. Brienne announced a national bankruptcy.

(4) The King dismisses Brienne.

The King, knowing he could not depend on the army, which was permeated with revolutionary ideas

¹ Page 253.

² Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, pp. 318, 319.

and powerful of the Prussian discipline which had been recently introduced, gave way. He dissolved Prussia on August 20th, 1788, suspended the *Cour Privée*, restored the Parliament, summoned the States-General to meet on May 1st, 1789; recalled Nader as Minister of Finance on August 27th, 1788.

III. The States-General.

A. Some difficulties.

The States-General had not met since 1614. It had never legislated; its attitude towards the King had been that of petitioners upon whose petitions subsequent legislation might be based; it had not possessed the right of initiative in financial matters; the re-establishment of the States-General in its old form was not incompatible with absolute monarchy. But absolute monarchy had utterly failed as a means of government, and the *cahiers*, or lists of grievances presented to the deputies by their constituents, showed that the people expected the States-General to undertake any work necessary for the salvation of France. The King regarded the States-General as "a great financial engine" which would remove the national debt.

(i) The nobles.

The nobles demanded a general demand for freedom and self-government, religious justice, the suppression of privilege in taxation and a direct tax on land. The nobles of the Church demanded that, except in taxation, clerical privileges should be maintained; the nobles wished to establish a constitutional monarchy founded on aristocratic institutions and maintaining their own social and political privileges. But the nobles of the *Tiers État* demanded an alteration in the material condition of the Church and the abolition of all feudal privileges; their aim was to sweep away all privileges which made the nobles and clergy

separate parts of the State and to establish civil and political equality. A conflict between the Estates seemed inevitable.

(2) The Third Estate.

The three Estates had been equal in number and had not separately. But the *Tiers États* had become much more important owing to the development of commerce and industry, and was determined to secure predominance. "What," asked the Abbé Sieyès in his famous pamphlet *Qu'est-ce que le tiers état?*, "is the Third Estate? Everything. What has it been until now in the political order? Nothing. What does it ask to be? Something." To ensure its own supremacy the *Tiers États* demanded that it should have as many members as the other two classes combined and that all members should sit together.

The Parliament resisted the demands of the *Tiers États* and so lost all its popularity. On Necker's advice the King assented the double representation of the *Tiers États*, but the majority of the nobles, influenced by the Queen and the Comte d'Artois, refused to agree to a compromise session.

(3) Method of election.

New methods of election were successfully devised. Practically every noble of the age of twenty-five, and all the higher clergy and parish priests, had a vote; in the *Tiers États* every Frenchman of twenty-five years of age who was assessed on the register of taxes had a vote.

B. The opening.

May 5th, 1789. The King opened the States-General at Versailles.

Resources:

The Balance of Power (Hassall), Rivingtons, chap. xix.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. IV.

The French Revolution (Gardiner); *Epochs of Modern History*, Longmans, chaps. I, II.

Lectures on the French Revolution (Lord Acton), Macmillan, Lecture III.

History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons, Introduction.

THE NATIONAL OR CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY, JUNE 17TH, 1789— SEPTEMBER, 30TH, 1791

I. The States-General.

A. Constitution.

The States-General assembled 1789, including 395 députés, of whom two-thirds were parish priests, 280 nobles and 663 members of the Third Estate. Of the Third Estate 361 were lawyers or concerned in the administration of justice.

The députés lacked political experience, and the King lost a great opportunity by failing to seize the opportunity of giving a strong lead. But the King, who regarded the States-General merely as "a great financial expedient," was resolved to maintain his prerogative and was unable to understand the meaning of a constitutional monarchy founded on democratic institutions. Although sincerely anxious to reduce grievances, he utterly failed to work in harmony with the Assembly; any concessions he made seemed to be extorted from him and gained him no popularity.

B. The victory of the Third Estate.

The Third Estate secured an advantage by occupying the Hall of the Estates and, finding that the nobles and clergy refused their invitation to a joint session for the

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verification of powers, began this work themselves with some of the parish priests on June 17th and elected Bailly as President.

(1) The National Assembly.

June 17th, 1789. The Third Estate took the name of the National Assembly, thus ignoring the existence of the other Estates and severing the leadership of the nation. The nobles sent a protest to the King against the usurpation of the Third Estate.

June 19th, 1789. The clergy, by a majority of one, decided to join the Third Estate.

(2) The Tennis-court Oath.

June 20th, 1789. The Third Estate, being excluded from the Hall of the Estates, met on the tennis court at Versailles and took the Tennis-court Oath not to separate until "the constitution of the Kingdom had been established and confirmed on solid foundations."

This action, which was a declaration of war against the old absolute monarchy, was the definite beginning of the French Revolution.

(3) The Royal Edict.

June 23rd, 1789. The King, in a Royal Edict, made important concessions, but declared the edicts of June 17th illegal, and insisted that the Estates should meet separately and ordered the Assembly to disperse immediately and meet in separate sessions the next day. Withdrawal of the King followed by most of the nobles and some of the higher clergy. Refusal of the rest to leave their seats except, as Mirabeau declared, "at the point of the bayonet." Lafayette assured the Assembly, "Gentlemen, you are to-day what you were yesterday."

The Assembly continued to sit, unanimously re-affirmed their former decree and, at the proposal of Mirabeau, declared the persons of its members inviolable.

The Royal Silence showed clearly the weakness of the Crown. It was a victory for the Assembly, which asserted the sovereignty of the people over the King who had failed to maintain his ancient and undoubted prerogative. It was a further step towards the union of the Three Estates. On June 29th forty-seven nobles, led by the Duke of Orléans, joined the National Assembly; on June 16th the Archbishop of Paris, terrified by the Paris mob, the Bishops of Orange and Autun (Talleyrand), joined the tiers état; most of the nobles and clergy, fearing that further opposition might endanger the King's life, at the King's request joined the Assembly.

June 29th, 1789. Union of the Three Estates.

II. Paris.

The "spontaneous anarchy" into which France had now fallen owing to the collapse of the executive and the hopeless disorder of the finances was most marked in Paris.

A. Causes of discontent.

(1) Famine and the Palais Royal.

The poor harvest of 1788 and the severe winter of 1788-1789 had caused a scarcity of bread; the people of Paris were hungry, and thousands of starving folk from the provinces had flocked to the city. The dauphin, the Duke of Orléans, a great-grandson of the Regent and the bitter enemy of the Queen, who hoped to seize the throne, made the Palais Royal, which no police officer dared enter, the centre of the extremists. There stirred up to violence the desperate mob who on April 3rd, 1789 attacked the house of Brévallet, a manufacturer, who had said that a workman could live on fifteen sous a day.

(2) Political unrest.

The keen interest in the work of the States-General and rapidly growing discontent with political

* Palace.

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conditions were aggravated by the violent pamphlets which now appeared, although the famous revolutionary newspapers were not issued until a little later. The poorer classes had expected the States-General to raise wages and lower the price of bread and were greatly disappointed that their expectations were not realised.

(3) The Army.

The King, with reluctance, had agreed to use force if necessary, and 40,000 soldiers, including many Germans and Swiss, under Brugel, were stationed near Paris to overawe the capital. But the *Garde Prussienne* had revolutionary sympathies, and the army strongly resented the Prussian discipline, especially corporal punishment, which had been introduced by Comte de St. Omerain, a recent Minister of War. The presence of the troops increased the uneasiness of the Parisians.

(4) Attempt at Municipal Government.

The Municipal Government, formerly constituted by the Crown, had ceased to function.

June 27th, 1789. The Electors of the Third Estate of Paris constituted themselves a government, met in the Hôtel de Ville, and on July 1st, 1789, formed a Civic Guard to maintain order in Paris.

B. The fall of the Bastille, July 14th, 1789.

(1) Immediate causes.

July 13th, 1789. The King, influenced by the Queen, the Comte d'Artois and the extreme Court party, dismissed Necker, whom the people regarded as their champion.

July 13th. Roused by Camille Desmoulins, the mob, who feared that the dismissal of Necker would be followed by a royal coup d'état, seized arms at the Hôtel de Ville, where the Electors refused to sanction their rising.

(2) The Bastille taken.

July 14th. The mob took arms from the Hôtel des Invalides; stormed the Bastille; released the seven prisoners, none of whom were political; murdered De Launay, the Governor, after he had submitted on promise of safety. "That is a revolt," said Louis XVI on hearing the news. "Sire," answered Liancourt, "it is not a revolt, it is a revolution."

July 19th. Bailly was appointed Mayor of Paris, and Lafayette Commander of the Civic Guard, who took the name of the National Guard and adopted as their badge the Tricolor, a combination of the blue and red of Paris and the Bourbon white. The King recalled Necker.

July 22nd. Flight of Astor, Condé and Bragel—
the first of the dévoués.

(3) Louis XVI comes to Paris.

July 17th. Louis XVI went to Paris. Bailly gave him the keys of the city as a professor had given them to Henry IV, and said, "Henry IV conquered his people; to-day the people have conquered their King." Louis assumed the Tricolor, confirmed Bailly and Lafayette in office.

(4) The importance of the fall of the Bastille.

The fall of the Bastille saved the ascendancy of the people which was endangered by the military forces Louis had collected, with the advice of the Queen; the destruction of the Bastille meant the abolition of the old system of absolute government. Further riots followed, and Fouché, a new minister, who was reported to have said that if the people were hungry they could eat grass, and his son-in-law Barthélemy was hanged from lamp-posts on July 31st. The riots were stopped by the National Guard.

In the provinces new municipalities were established, National Guards enrolled, unpopular officials

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murdered. In many places, particularly in Brittany, Alsace and Franche-Comté, châteaux and convents were destroyed. The sudden abolition of royal offices paralyzed the administrative, judicial and financial systems.

C. The march to Versailles, October 5th, 1789.

(1) Causes of discontent from July to October, 1789.

Necquer had returned to office, but lost influence, partly because he failed to relieve the financial situation, partly because he persecuted the Electors¹ to gain an alliance to the opponents of the revolution. The Queen and Louis' sister Madame Elizabeth were again urging the King to dissolve the Assembly and suppress the Revolution by force. He was also urged to transfer the Assembly to Paris, where it would be free from domination by the Paris Jacobins. Factions continued in Paris, and many lacked bread which, although reduced in price by the Assembly, was scarce. The King concentrated troops at Versailles for his own protection, and Léveillé, in the *Révolutions de Paris*, and Marat, in the *Journal de Paris*, which had great influence in Paris, asserted that he would attack Paris.

(2) The banquet at Versailles.

October 1st, 1789. The Queen and Dauphin attended a banquet at Versailles given to the officers of the regiment of Flahaut. Loyal toasts were drunk, anti-Republican sentiments expressed, and the Paris papers asserted, apparently incorrectly, that the Tricolor had been trampled underfoot. The belief that all this portended an attack on Paris led to an outbreak.

(3) The march of the women of Paris to Versailles, October 5th, 1789.

A crowd of women, demanding bread and shouting "A Versailles," went to Versailles, followed later by some of the National Guard under Lafayette, and

¹ Page 123 (4).

by the municipality to check disorder. The women entered the Assembly with cries of "Bread and Free speech." The mob entered the palace, two of the Queen's guards were slain; but Lafayette's troops stopped further violence.

(3) The return of the King to Paris.

October 6th, 1789. Lafayette insisted that the King, Queen and Royal Family should return to Paris. They were escorted by a rough crowd which carried on piles the heads of the dead guards and asserted that they were bringing back "the baker, the baker's wife and the baker's little boy." The instigator of this movement was Orleans, who complained that "the money has not been earned since the simplest still lives." The National Assembly soon followed and bade farewell past in the example of the Tuilleries.

(3) General.

Paris had occupied both King and Assembly; the former lived at the Tuilleries practically a prisoner. The power of the people had been manifested, and the people of Paris "had become, to a new and alarming extent, the arbiter of the fortunes of France." The revolutionary cause was strengthened in France; the example of Paris contributed to the Belgian Revolution of 1789.¹ The Right² in the Assembly was weakened, and Mirabeau, fearing that the Revolution would end in anarchy, now approached the King and Queen with a view to the establishment of Constitutional Monarchy.

From this time the Jacobins,³ or Friends of the Constitution, began to acquire their great influence in Paris. Largely owing to the attacks of the Jacobins the ministry was dissolved in September, 1789, and Necker, who had lost all influence, withdrew to Switzerland.

¹ i.e. the ruling school.

² Page 272.

³ Page 219.

³ So called because they met in a building belonging to the Dominicans, who were called Jacobins because they first met in the church of St. Jacques.

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D. The Federative Pét. July 14th, 1789.

The anniversary of the fall of the Bastille was celebrated by the Federative Pét. held on the Champ de Mars. This was said by Talleyrand in the presence of the King, Queen, and President of the Assembly, and the King swore "to employ all the power delegated to me by the constitutional law of the State to uphold the Constitution."

E. The Flight to Varennes. June 20th, 1791.

(1) General conditions.

The death of Mirabeau on April 2nd, 1791, deprived the King of his wisest adviser. Louis XVI strongly resented his confinement to the Tuilleries; Marie Antoinette refused to desert her husband, as the Left of the Assembly advised, and her great unpopularity added to his difficulties; he was a devout Roman Catholic and caused resentment by employing non-juring priests in the royal chapel.

Meanwhile the fear of foreign interference in response to the appeals of the dévots was growing; Leopold II strongly resented the harsh treatment of his sister, and after a conference between Leopold and the representatives of Austria at Mantua in May, 1791, it seemed likely that France would be invaded on all sides. The people were determined to keep the King in Paris, and when on April 18th, 1791, he tried to go to St. Cloud for a day's hunting the mob cut the traces of his carriage and compelled him to return to the Tuilleries.

(2) The Flight.

June 20th, 1791. The King and Queen in disguise left Paris hoping to get to Bonapart's army at Maastricht. They were recognised by Drouet at St.云 and brought back to Paris.

(3) Results of the Flight.

a. The Flight showed that the King did not really favour the reorganisation of the French

Governess). But the Left, led by Lafayette, Barrere and Lameth, saw that by weakening the executive they had made the King's position untenable; they now aimed at establishing constitutional monarchy and founded the Constitutional Club. On June 23rd they suspended the King, but only until he accepted the Constitution, which he did on September 14th. But this policy necessitated the continued presence of the King in Paris, and the Tuilleries was more closely guarded.

- b. The Flight led to the first appearance of a Republican Party in Paris. The Cordeliers Club, believing that the King aimed at regaining his absolute power by foreign aid, drew up a petition for his de-thronement. A disorderly crowd which met to sign the petition was dispersed by Lafayette on July 17th, 1791, after refusing to disperse in accordance with a proclamation by Bailly;—the Massacre of the Champs de Mars; proscription of the Cordeliers; flight of Danton and Marat to England.
- c. The unsuccessful flight to Varennes showed that Louis XVI was really a prisoner and led Leopold II to issue the Circular of Potsdam to hold with Frederick William II a conference at Pillnitz.² But when Louis accepted the Constitution, Leopold gave up any attempt to intervene.

III. The Work of the National Assembly, June 23rd, 1789–September 20th, 1791.

Their victory over the King at the Royal Salvoes of June 23rd, 1789,³ had left the Assembly free to undertake "the regeneration of France." The task of framing a new Constitution was rendered difficult not only by

¹ Page 284.

² Page 285.

³ Page 282.

financial crisis and the breakdown of the Executive, but by unskiness in the Assembly. The members were for experienced, but so presumption that "every member of the Assembly thought himself capable of everything"; they refused to submit to the discipline of the chair and the Assembly "resented a disorderly public meeting"; the disorder was aggravated by the presence of spectators who often interrupted the proceedings; jealousy between committees and between ministers caused great friction. After October 6th, 1789, the Assembly was dominated by the people of Paris, who sometimes attacked members of whose views they disapproved. "Throughout the French Revolution the party which claimed to be most democratic tried to silence discussion by fear, and shewed the utmost contempt for freedom of conscience."¹

A. The Parties.

Four roughly defined parties soon appeared.

(1) The Right.

The Right were consistency Legitimists who were anxious to preserve the old institutions and privileges and, although willing to allow the States-General to legislate and levy taxes, refused to accept parliamentary sanction for the royal prerogative. Their leaders were Charles and the Abbé Maury. The Right was a small party.

(2) The Right Centre.

The Right Centre advocated a constitutional monarchy somewhat similar to that of England. Monier, Lally-Tollendal and Clermont-Tonnerre led the party, which carried little weight, partly owing to its smallness, partly because its policy was not in accordance with the *Charte Social*, which allowed of no limitation on popular government.

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, page 190.

(3) The Left Centre.

The Left Centre, or *Fœuillants*, the largest party, numbering about seven hundred, included most of the *Tiers Etat* and parish priests, accepted the *Constituent* Social entirely, desired equality and self-government for all, wished to preserve the monarchy but to limit its powers. They believed "that the establishment of a free constitution, followed by remedial legislation, would bring the Revolution to an end within the course of a few months, and render the country law-abiding, prosperous and contented."¹ They included Lafayette, Brissot, Lameth, Barnave and Mirabeau. Mirabeau, who now² was forty years old, was notorious for the dissoluteness of his early life; although a noble, he represented the city of Aix in the *Tiers Etat*; he was a great orator, and the only real statesman in the Assembly, to which he alone comprehended the real meaning of the Revolution. Although he had helped the *Tiers Etat* to win their great victory on June 10th, 1789, he soon saw that the maintenance of executive power was necessary and did his best to establish constitutional monarchy. His efforts were impeded by the jealousy of Lafayette and Barnave, the opposition of Necker, the bitter hostility of the Queen and his own failure to secure a following—he was his own party. But Mirabeau alone could have averted the later Revolution, if anybody could, and his death on April 2nd, 1791, was a national calamity.

(4) The Extreme Left.

The Extreme Left held republican views; they advocated manhood suffrage and asserted that all citizens should be eligible for all offices. They did not at first think of overthrowing the monarchy, and it was not until after the flight to Varennes that they became powerful. This party included Robespierre, the deputy for Artois, who had resigned a judgeship rather than condemn a man to death, Danton and Fouché.

¹ French Archives (Gardiner), page 88.

² Id. 138.

B. The abolition of privileges.

August 4th, 1789. On the initiative of the Vicomte de Noailles and the Duke of Aiguillon the Assembly overthrew most of the old privileges of individuals, classes and corporations by a series of decrees based on the principles of legal equality for all citizens, freedom of labour and individual liberty. It abolished in one night seigniorial and servile dues, seigniorial jurisdiction, game laws and seigniorial rights of hunting, the gabelle, tithes and all special privileges belonging to towns and guilds; it provided that every citizen should be "admissible to all offices and dignities, ecclesiastical, civil and military"; it imposed equality of punishment on all criminals.

These decrees, "the St. Bartholomew of property," exerted, as Mirabeau said, "in a night the whole of the ancient order of the kingdom"; the Assembly, on the motion of Lally-Tollendal, declared that Louis XVI was "the nation's of French Liberty." The decrees mark the final extinction of French feudalism and the change from medieval to modern France; they necessitated and facilitated the later establishment of constitutional government.

C. The Constitution.

A Committee was appointed on July 22d, 1789, to frame a new Constitution which became law on September 3rd, 1791; owing to this part of its work the National Assembly is also known as the Constituent Assembly.

The general aims of the Assembly were set forth on August 27th, 1789, in the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which asserted the legal equality of all citizens, the natural right of man to liberty, property and security, the natural right of the citizens to resist tyranny, and the sovereignty of the people.

(i) The Monarchy.

September, 1789. The form of government was to

be a monarchy which was to remain indivisible, and hereditary by male succession in the Bourbon family.

The King was declared King of the French by the grace of God and the will of the nation, and his person was to be held inviolable; his private estate was taken as national property, and he received to their credit a civil list pension of 25,000,000 francs. The Assembly was determined to sustain the monarchy and Louis XVI enjoyed much personal popularity.

But the recollection of the abuses of the old regime and fear that the Queen and Coburg party would support reaction and welcome foreign intervention made the Assembly limit the King's authority.

a. The Senate.

The proposal that the King should nominate a second chamber or Senate was rejected on September 10th, 1789, partly because the idea of an Upper House was contrary to democratic sentiment.

b. The Veto.

The proposal, supported by Mirabeau, that the King should exercise an absolute veto on legislation was rejected. He was granted on September 11th, 1789, only a suspensive veto operative for two legislatures (i.e. for five years).

c. The King and the Executive.

The King was head of the Executive; as such he was the head of the administration and the chief of the army and navy, in both of which he appointed the higher officers. But he had no power over the elections to the Legislature; he could not control its duration; his ministers could not be deputies; he had no power of initiating legislation; he had no judicial authority and no control over the judges. The election of the Legislature was

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necessary for declaring war. But Mirabeau in May, 1789, induced the Assembly to give to the King the power of initiating proposals for peace and war.

d. The King's Ministers.

Mirabeau on November 6th, 1789, urged that in order to facilitate business the King's ministers should have seats in the Assembly. But he was opposed both by the Right, who feared that such an arrangement would weaken the monarchy by strengthening the influence of the Assembly over the Executive, and by the Left, who feared that the chance of serving office might induce the most perfidious depots to favour the King, and it was decided that a deputy could not become a minister while a member of the Assembly or for two years after.

The attempt to reproduce in France prominent features of the English Constitution had failed.

(2) The Legislature.

The Legislature was to be a single chamber with 725 members. It was to sit for two years, when it automatically ceased; the King had no control over the elections and no power to prorogue or disband the Legislature.

a. Powers.

The Legislature had full power of legislation, limited by the King's suspensive veto, which did not apply to financial measures. Its consent was essential for the declaration of war and for treaties of peace, commerce or alliance. It had no judicial authority.

b. Method of election.

The Legislature was elected indirectly. "Active Citizens," i.e. men of at least twenty-

five years of age. This paid in direct taxes the value of three days' labour and were enrolled in their municipal registers and the National Guard, formed the Primary Assemblies of towns and parishes, and these chose one elector for every hundred Active Citizens. Ownership or tenancy of property was a necessary qualification of an elector, who had to pay taxes of the value of at least two hundred days' labour. No one holding a judicial or administrative post could become a member of the Assembly.

D. Local administration.

Uniformity, decentralisation and the sovereignty of the people acting through elected representatives were the principles which underlay the new arrangements for local administration.

(1) New divisions.

December 2nd, 1789. France was divided into 83 departments subdivided into 374 cantons; the cantons were divided into about 31,000 communes. Local administration in each division consisted of a small Directory, which was executive, and a larger Council. Active Citizens alone had the right of electing members of the administration.

(2) Officials.

The old provincial districts, suggestive of feudal division, were abolished and France became unified.

The King's local representatives were abolished and their authority was replaced by that of elected officials. The direct royal authority which had so long administered the country was swept away.

The real power fell into the hands of the communes, which controlled the assessment and collection of taxes, exercised sole authority over the troops,

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National Guards or gendarmerie. The 44,000 communes "seemed likely to develop into so many independent republics."¹

(2) Paris.

Paris, previously divided into twenty-two quarters, had been divided into sixty districts, or arrondissements, in April, 1789, which sent deputies² to the States-General. Owing to disturbances in the districts the city was divided into forty-eight Sections in 1790. These were intended to elect deputies to the municipality and them to dissolve. But permanent committees of fifteen directed the operations of the Sections, which were soon to prove seats of extreme revolutionary doctrines.

The new municipality, "of which Bailly was re-elected mayor, consisted of a general council of 96 and an executive of 44 members."³

E. Judicial and legal reforms.

(1) The Parlements.

November, 1789. The Parlement of Paris, which had become unpopular owing to its support of the demand of the nobles and clergy to vote by orders not by heads, and local Parlements were suppressed.

(2) New local courts.

In cantons and towns juries de paix tried petty cases.

In districts five judges, appointed for six years, tried civil cases.

In departments a court of four judges tried crimes. A final appeal lay to the Court of Cassation sitting in Paris and independent of the Legislature.

All judges were elected by Active Citizens, the Courts of Cassation by departments; the King and Legislature had no share in the administration of

¹ Lodge.

² Gendarme.

justice; the judges, who owed their position to election, were liable to be readily influenced by popular opinion.

(C) Penalties.

The jury system was introduced for criminal but not for civil cases and a grand jury appointed for such department. Counsel for defence was granted to accused persons.

(D) Punishment.

The severity of the penal code was mitigated. The penalty of death was to be inflicted only in a few cases; torture and flogging de morte were abolished; witchcraft and heresy were no longer regarded as crimes.

The reform of the judicial system was based on the principles of the sovereignty of the people, the separation of the judicial executive from the Legislature and monarchy, the equality of all citizens before the law.

E. The Church.

(1) Tolerance.

April 12th, 1790. The Assembly had declared that all citizens, whatever their religious views, were eligible for employment by the State. It now passed a decree "giving absolute and entire toleration of every form of religion."¹

(2) Tithes.

August 4th, 1790. Abolition of tithes, worth £20,000,000 francs a year. The income was presented to the landowners and not used to meet the financial needs of the State.

(3) Confiscation of Church property.

The confiscation of Church property, which was worth about £100,000,000, was based on the assumption that it belonged to the nation and that the clergy

¹ More Stephen, page 72.

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were not owners, but only trustees and administrators. In spite of the protests of Abbé Sieyès, this view found ready acceptance in the Assembly, which consisted largely of laymen and included among its members many sceptics and some Jansenists¹ and Huguenots.

The finance was in a chaotic state; by August, 1789, the State debt amounted to about \$43,780,000; the weakness of the administration led to the loss of most of the revenue; no loan could be raised; a voluntary loan, to which the King contributed the royal plate, failed. Tallyrand on October 10th, 1789, proposed that Church lands should be confiscated and sold to pay the State debts.

November 10th, 1789. Church property confiscated by the State, which made provision for the clergy, appointing a minimum salary of 1200 livres a year for parish priests.

December 10th, 1789. The Assembly ordered the sale of Church lands to the value of 400,000,000 francs, but only a small amount was sold to private purchasers. Much was sold to municipalities. To secure immediate financial relief the Assembly issued "assignats or promises to pay, based on the value of Church property, renamed or confiscated by the Assembly, and to be extinguished as this property was sold."²

(4) Dissolution of monastic houses, February, 1790.

February, 1790. The Assembly annulled religious vows, suppressed all religious houses and confiscated their property; monks and nuns received pensions. The dissolution of the religious houses provoked but little opposition, for scepticism was rife and the religious orders were unpopular.

(5) The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, July, 1790.

July 12th, 1790. By the Civil Constitution of the Clergy the Assembly suppressed all cathedral chapters

¹ *See* in European History, Vol. II, page 162. ² *See* Stephens.

and the title of archbishop; made departments into bishoprics; provided that bishops should be elected by electors of departments, and parish priests by electors of districts; assigned salaries of from 20,000 to 12,000 livres to bishops, 4000 to 1200 to parish priests, 2800 to 700 to curates; the confirmation of the Pope for the new arrangement was not sought, and the right of any foreign bishop to interfere with the French Church was denied.

The Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which its supporters maintained affected only discipline and not belief, represents the application to the Church of the idea of the sovereignty of the people. But faithful Catholics strongly resented State interference with the Church, and objected to the election of the clergy by laymen and the denial of Papal jurisdiction. Louis XVI agreed to the Civil Constitution on August 27th, 1790, only with great reluctance and in spite of the warning of Pope Pius VI that such agreement would be schismatic.

(6) The Oath of Fidelity to the Constitution, November, 1790.

a. The Oath.

November 27th, 1790. The Assembly, led by Mirabeau and irritated by the opposition shown to the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, required all clergy to take an Oath of Fidelity to the new Constitution.

December 2nd, 1790. The King was compelled to sign the decree.

January 4th, 1791. Out of 125 prelates only Tallyrand, Bishop of Autun, Loménie de Brienne, Archbishop of Sens, and the Bishops of Orleans and Viviers took the oath; about 30,000 parish priests refused to take it and were deprived of office. The letter of Pope Pius VI forbidding the oath was burned at the Palais Royal.

b. Results.

The oath severed the alliance between the parochial priests and the majority of the Assembly. France was divided between the adherents of the sworn priests and those of the *non-jurors*; the hostility of the King to the Revolution was strengthened and he became more willing to seek foreign aid; the King was estranged from Mirabeau.

c. Foreign policy of the National Assembly.

The foreign policy of the Assembly was based on the idea of the sovereignty of the people; this inspired the idea of national independence and was directly opposed to the attempt of the sovereigns of Europe to secure territorial gains independent of the nationality of the people conquered.

Robespierre, Pétion and Barnave asserted that all existing treaties between France and other countries were null and void because they had not been made by the sovereign people, and the Declaration of the Rights of Man tacitly challenged the Governments which did not recognize such rights.

May, 1790. Mirabeau, who now saw that the interests of France required that the King's executive power should be strengthened, secured for the King the sole right of initiating proposals for war and peace; a committee of six was appointed to revise all treaties, and the Assembly renounced all wars of conquest.

Three questions called for immediate attention.

(i) Nootka Sound, October, 1790.

The seizure of a British ship in Nootka Sound by Spain led to a threat of war from Pitt. Spain appealed to France for aid in accordance with the Family Compact of 1781. But some deputies feared that war would strengthen the monarchy; others objected to treaties made by the monarchy; Robespierre and

Petion objected to any offensive war. The Assembly therefore replaced the dynastic Faculty Compact by a national treaty for mutual defense. Spain, seeing that France would not assist her in a war of aggression, renounced all claim to Tuscany and Lucca. Thus France lost the old friendship with Spain.

(3) Avignon.

Avignon had been sold to the Papacy by Jeanne of Naples in 1348. The attempt of the French party to introduce revolutionary ideas led to civil war in June, 1790. On September 13th, 1791, the Assembly voted for the incorporation~~to~~ of France of Avignon and the Vaucluse, but finally delayed to send troops to restore order.

[In October many of the supporters of the Pope were massacred by bandits led by Jourdan.

November 9th, 1791. French troops restored order.]

(4) The Rhine.

a. Feudal rights.

Prussia had received Alsace by the Peace of Westphalia, but had guaranteed to the landlords their feudal privileges.

February, 1790. The landlords, including the Archbishops of Cologne, Mainz and Trier, the Duke of Württemberg and Zweibrücken, and the Margraves of Hesse-Darmstadt and Baden protested against the abolition of these feudal privileges on August 4th, 1790,¹ refused as inadequate the compensation which the Assembly offered and, as Princes of the Empire, appealed for protection to the Imperial Diet.

b. The diaconies.

The Assembly strongly censured the shelter given by the Electors of Cologne, Trier and

¹ Page 334.

Maintz to the royalist designs who formed a sort of Court at Coblenz, where the Comte d'Artois, brother of Louis XVI, did his utmost to persuade the sovereigns of Europe to invade France.

III. General.

The National Assembly had asserted the principles of the sovereignty of the people (although extreme democracy disapproved of the exclusion of Passive Citizens from political power); and the equality of all before the law, and had swept away the abuses under which France had so long laboured. But reform came so rapidly that it broke all the ties which had united the nation without supplying new bonds of union; the new methods of local government failed to function, and their failure led to administrative chaos.

The National Assembly failed to establish a stable constitution. Its gravest error was its failure to establish a strong Executive owing to its fear that if the King were given effective powers he would use it to re-establish the old régime. The lack of a strong Executive was the main reason for the successful effort of the Paris Commune and the Jacobins to abolish the monarchy and establish a Republic. "In its fear of reaction [the National Assembly] ensured a new revolution."¹

The new constitution which the National Assembly devised was destined to meet the opposition of parties which had arisen owing to recent decrees. The designs, aiming at restoring the old monarchy with foreign aid, the non-juring priests who received the sympathy and support of many faithful Catholics, were to cause grave difficulties in the near future.

September 20th, 1791. Read of the National Assembly.

References:

Revolutionary Europe (Marie Stephen), Rivingtons, Chap. II, 22.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 318.

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chaps. v, vi, viii.
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 chaps. i, ii, iii.

THE LEGISLATIVE ASSEMBLY, OCTOBER 1ST, 1791—SEPTEMBER 20TH, 1792

Most men, and especially the middle class, thought that the Revolution was ended when the King accepted the Constitution on September 14th, 1791; they wanted to carry on business in peace and to enjoy the happier political conditions which were expected to result from the work of the National Assembly. They had no desire to dethrone Louis XVI or to assert the dominion of the Revolution by force against a united Europe.

I. Parties.

Rобеспierre in May, 1791, had raised a motion in the National Assembly that none of its members should be eligible for election to the next Legislature. The 712 members of the Legislative Assembly were mostly young lawyers or journalists; the necessity of taking the civic oath, which implied acceptance of the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, excluded devout Catholics, and there were no members who supported absolute monarchy and clerical privilege. There were three parties.

A. The Right.

The Right, or *Fortinets*, favoured constitutional government; they had no strong leaders in the Assembly, but their policy was directed by Barras and the Legislator from the *Feuillants*' Club. They wished to

resist the authority of the King as defined by the Constituent Assembly, and Louis XVI made a fatal mistake in not entering into a close alliance with them.

B. The Left.

The Left was Jacobin and wished to establish a republic. The Left was at first united, but soon split into two divisions.

(1) The Brissotins or Girondins.

The Brissotins, so called from Brissot, a Norman deputy, soon became known as the Girondins because their leading men—Talleyrand, the greatest orator of the time, General and Gendarme—came from the Gironde. Madame Roland, whose husband was a deputy, exercised great influence and was determined further to weaken the monarchy.

(2) The Jacobins.

The Brissotins, extreme Jacobins, included Couthon, Thuriot and Martin of Thionville. Their numbers were small, but the strong support of the Jacobin Club, in which Robespierre, Danton and Marat were all-powerful, made them formidable. Their influence in Paris was strengthened by the election of Fétis as Mayor of Paris in succession to Bailly on November 16th, 1791.

C. The Centre.

The Centre, although the largest party, was inactive because, unlike the Right and Left, it had no definite policy. Voting was individual and verbal, and the system of terrorism and violence adopted by the Jacobins led many of the Centre either to support them or to abstain from voting.

II. The Legislative Assembly and the King.

The Left was determined to discredit the monarchy and used the army and the clergy for this purpose.

A. Attempts to discredit the King.

(1) The *despairs*.

The *despairs* were forming an army to invade France, and had issued reactionary manifestoes which greatly irritated the Assembly. But they were divided by cliques ; Leopold II disapproved of their attitude, and the danger then than was more apparent than real.

November 9th, 1791. The Assembly voted that all *despairs* should return to France on pain of death.

November 12th, 1791. The King signed the decree.

(2) The *Girondins*.

November 26th, 1791. The Assembly, knowing the King's devotion to Roman Catholicism, passed a decree forbidding non-juring priests to officiate in public and depriving them of their pensions.

December 12th, 1791. The King signed this decree.

(3) War.¹

a. The *Federalists* and *Girondins* favour war.

Both the *Federalists* and the *Girondins* favoured war with Austria and the *despairs*. The former, strongly supported by Lafayette, who was now commanding the Army of the Centre, desired war in the hope that success would strengthen the position of the King, who was head of the army ; the latter, knowing that Louis had negotiated with foreign powers, hoped that a foreign invasion would enable them further to discredit the King by accusing him of assisting the enemies of France. Danton's famous speech, "Let us tell Europe that if Cabinets engage Kings in a war against people, we will engage people in a war against Kings."

b. The *Bourgeois* oppose war.

The extreme Jacobins opposed war because they thought it would strengthen the Executive. This difference led to the split between the *Bourgeois* and the *Girondins*.

¹ For details, see page 352.

c. The decision.

A decree was passed requiring the King to demand that the besieged army should be disbanded and that a French army should be sent to the frontier. It was thought that this decree would ensure the outbreak of war.

December 14th, 1791. Louis XVI informed the Assembly that an army of 150,000 men had been sent to the frontier.

d. Warboeuf.

Warboeuf, the new Minister of War, supported military operations, hoping, like Lafayette, to strengthen the position of the King.

January 25th, 1792. The Assembly demanded that Leopold II should assume the disposal of the besieged army and renounce his recent treaty with Prussia,¹ which was regarded as a threat to France.

An unsuccessful plan of Warboeuf to enable the King and Queen to escape from Paris to Lafayette's camp led to ill-feeling between Warboeuf and the *Fidélistes* and the fall of Warboeuf on March 10th, 1792.

e. The Girondin Ministry.

[March 1st, 1792. Death of Leopold II.]

March, 1792. The King chose a Girondin Ministry; Dumouriez, the new Foreign Minister, strongly advocated war against Austria, but vainly tried to keep peace with Britain, Prussia and Germany.

April 20th, 1792. Louis XVI was compelled to declare war on "the King of Hungary and Bohemia," i.e. Austria.

¹ Page 232.

III. The Revolution of June 18th, 1792.

A. Growing turbulence in Paris.

The continued depreciation of the assignats and the want of bread caused real hardship; the election of Pétion as Mayor of the Commune of Paris in November, 1791, and of Danton as Deputy Procurator in January, 1792, and the admission of the Paris mob to the meetings of the Commune strengthened the influence of the extreme Jacobins; thousands of places were distributed to the lowest classes, and those places became the rivals of the middle-class National Guard; popular feeling was inflamed by the adoption of the red cap of Liberty as the badge of the extremists. The influence of Babeuf, Danton and Marat over "the revolution of Paris" grew stronger.

April 18th, 1792. The Revolutionary Fête, held to celebrate the unjustifiable liberation from the galley of some Swiss soldiers who had been convicted of mutiny, marks the growing tendency to anarchy.

B. The Legislative Assembly.

(1) The Girondins and the King.

The Girondins pursued their policy of weabacing the monarchy, which was discredited by the belief that the "Austrian Committee," or friends of the Queen, were gaining strong influence over the King, and the suspicion, which was current, that the Queen had revealed the French plan of campaign to the Austrians. The Assembly dissolved itself in permanent session.

a. May, 1792. The Assembly disbanded the King's bodyguard of 12,000 men.

b. May, 1792. The Assembly ordered the breaking up of non-juring priests.

c. June 4th, 1792. Servan, now Minister of War, proposed to form a army of 50,000 men.

outside Paris, necessarily to defend the capital, really to strengthen the cause of the Revolution in the city.

(3) The King and the Feudists.

The King visited the last two districts and dismissed his Girondin ministers at the advice of Dumourier, who became Minister of War.

June 18th, 1792. Dumourier, on the King's refusal to re-call his orders, resigned and took command of the Army of the North. The King now turned a ministry of Feudists who were not strong enough to sustain his aims.

C. The insurrection of June 20th, 1792.

(1) Causes.

The insurrection was the natural outcome of the growing turbulence of the mob. Among the immediate causes were the King's recent Veto, Lafayette's letter of June 18th, 1792, in which he urged the Assembly to suppress the Jacobin clubs and support constitutional Monarchy, and a demand for the restoration of the Girondins, "the good ministers."

(2) The Tuilleries.

June 20th, 1792. The mob, carrying pikes, invaded the Assembly and entered the Tuilleries. Louis and Marie Antoinette displayed remarkable courage in the face of terrorism and possible assassination; Louis put on the red cap, but denied that he had violated the Constitution and refused to renounce his veto.

(3) Refusal of the King to accept Lafayette's aid.

The insurrection led to a motion in favour of the King. Lafayette proposed to help the King to escape to Cowbridge and, if necessary, to march against the Jacobins. The folly of the Queen, who, hating Lafayette for his early opposition to the Monarchy,

declared that if Lafayette was their only resource they had better perish, led the King to refuse his last chance of safety.

IV. The Revolution of August 10th, 1792.

The feeling in favor of the deposition of the King was aggravated by the fear of foreign invasion.

A. The Sections.

The forty-eight Sections of Paris were primary assemblies elected to choose deputies for the Assembly. After discharging their duty they had, quite illegally, continued to meet, and on July 20th, 1792, were authorized by the Assembly to remain in permanent session. The *berges* gained predominance in the Sections which secured control of the artillery and, with one exception, on July 20th, 1792, demanded the deposition of the King. They appointed a *Bureau de Correspondence* which elected *Concierges* who, on August 10th, took in the *Hôtel de Ville* and occupied the position of the regular *Concierres* of Paris.

B. The National Guard.

August 1st, 1792. Passive as well as active Châtelots were admitted to the National Guard, and thus the loyalty of the National Guard to the King was weakened.

C. The flight of Lafayette.

"Paris, the nation, the Assembly itself, were all at heart monarchial," and the Assembly, while ready to defend the country against foreign invasion, viewed with alarm the development of royal rule in Paris.

August 6th, 1792. The Assembly rejected Robespierre's proposal that Lafayette should be impeached for supporting the monarchy in June. Lafayette made a half-hearted attempt to secure support for the monarchy in his own army and the provinces, but was unwilling,

in view of the invasion of France by foreign enemies, to engage in civil war on behalf of the King and went into exile.

D. The country in danger.

(1) The King's position.

Frederick William II of Prussia, who on the death of Leopold II had become the leader of the Allies, determined on armed intervention on behalf of the King. Louis XVI, at the Feast of the Federation on July 14th, 1790, had renewed his oath to the Constitution, but the declaration of war on his behalf by Prussia on July 24th put him in a very difficult position.

(2) The Mamelouks.

The Assembly authorized the establishment of an armed camp at Soissons, called for provincial volunteers, *Séparés*, who were to pass through Paris on their way to Soissons : 40,000 *Séparés* enlisted in six weeks.

July 30th, 1792. Entry into Paris of the Mamelouk *Séparés* led by Barthouez and singing the Mamelouk, recently composed by Roget or Lise. They remained in Paris and supported the Republicans.

(3) Brunswick's Manifesto, July 27th, 1792.

Brunswick's most foolish manifesto ruined the holding of Prussia. He said that the object of the Allies was to restore the restoration of Louis XVI and to put down anarchy in France ; he threatened to treat with "the rigors of the law of war" those who resisted his advance and to inflict " exemplary and never-to-be-forgotten vengeance" on Paris if further violence was offered to the King.

E. The insurrection of August 10th, 1792.

In the early morning of August 10th the mob attacked the Tuilleries, defended by Mandat, the Commander of the National Guard, with about 1800 men, including 900 Swiss. Mandat was surrounded to the Hotel de Ville,

condemned to imprisonment by the Sectional Commissioners, who voted the suspension of the irregular Commune, and surrendered on his way to prison.

At 4.30 a.m. Louis and the Queen fled from the Tuilleries to the Assembly, where they were lodged for the night in a reporter's box. The Swiss continued to resist, laid down their arms on an order from the King but were massacred by the mob.

F. Results.

The massacre of August 10th, 1792, showed that "not only the monarchy but the Assembly were now at the mercy of the mob."

August 19th. The Girondins carried motions in the Assembly that the King should be suspended, not deposed, and lodged in the Luxembourg; that a new Convention should be summoned to revise the Constitution; that the Girondin ministers should be restored to office with the addition of Danton as Minister of Justice; that the difference between Active and Passive Citizens should be abolished; that a National Convention should be elected immediately.

V. The September Massacre.

A. The Revolutionary Committee.

The Revolutionary Committee soon showed its power. The Assembly was compelled to recognize its authority in Paris; its numbers were increased from about 50 to 250; on August 19th it transferred Louis XVI from the custody of the Assembly at the Luxembourg to the Temple, where Fétis and Santeuf took charge of him. It determined to establish a republic knowing that a restoration of the monarchy would be fatal to itself, and that most Frenchmen, and particularly the middle class, still favoured a monarchy. Robespierre, who now became one of the chief leaders of the republican party, Billaud-Varenne and Marat (although not an elected member) directed its affairs.

B. The Commune gained new powers.

- (1) August 11th, 1792. The National Assembly authorized the Commune to arrest people suspected "of crimes against the State." Many opponents of the Convention were arrested and imprisoned.
- (2) August 17th, 1792. The Assembly authorized the establishment of a special tribunal "elected" by the Sections and possessing final power to try the prisoners.

C. The September Massacres.

The fear caused by the fall of Longwy on August 23rd and the days at Verdun; the reluctance of the soldiers to go to the front and across Paris to the vengeance of any prisoners who escaped; the desire of the Commune to terrify voters and thus secure a majority in the Convention, led to the massacre of from 1900 to 2000 prisoners in Paris from September 2nd to September 7th. Only about two hundred murderers took part, but all Paris went share the blame. Neither Danton, the Minister of Justice, who is regarded by some as one of the instigators, nor the Commune, nor the Legislative Assembly, nor Beauvois, who now commanded the National Guard, made a real effort to stop the massacre, which "were the first results of the triumph of the Girondins and of the efforts of foreign powers to exterminate France."¹

References:

- Revolutionary Europe* (Moses Stephens), Evingtons, chap. III.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. ix.
The French Revolution (Gardiner), Longmans, chap. v.
Lectures on the French Revolution (Lord Acton), Macmillan,
 Lectures XIII, XIV.
History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons,
 chap. v.

¹ Lodge.

THE NATIONAL CONVENTION TO THE FALL OF THE GIRONDEANS, SEPTEMBER 21ST, 1793-JUNE 2ND, 1794

The National Convention replaced the Legislative Assembly on September 21st, 1792.

I. The Parties.

A. The Right.

The horror raised in the provinces by the September massacres gave the Girondins a majority. They were now the conservative element ; they wished to check disorder, to punish the authors of the recent massacre, to break the power of the Commune and establish a stable government. They included Vergniaud, Brissot, Couthard, Pichegru and Barbeconin.

B. The Mountain.

The Jacobin extremists, or *Enragés*, were now called the Mountain, because they occupied the highest benches on the left. They included all the twenty-four deputies of Paris, whose votes had been secured by Robespierre's action in intimidating the voters, and among them were Robespierre, Danton, who had done great service in organizing the national defence, Collot d'Hesme, Desmoulins, Marat and Philippe of Orléans, who had changed his name to Philippe Equita. They accepted all the consequences of extreme democracy and wished to establish a Republic in which they might express, for then alone they could ensure their own safety ; they were assured of the support of the Commune and each of Paris ; they wished to deprive the Girondins of their supremacy in the Convention.

C. The Plain or March.

The Plain or March occupied the lower benches. They hated Marat and resented the tyranny of the Commune,

and then inclined towards the Girondins; but they failed to avert the fury of the Mountain, and therefore swayed between the Right and the Mountain. Brézé, a most dexterous and courageous politician, Biçay, Merlin of Douai were the leading members of the Plain.

II. The Establishment of the Republic.

September 22nd, 1792. Formal proclamation of a Republic, which had really existed since August 10th, 1792.

November 19th, 1792. The Convention offered to help any people against their kings.

December 10th. The Convention ordered its generals to abolish existing authorities, proclaim the sovereignty of the people and seizure for the French Republic all property belonging to sovereigns or privileged corporations in any country they invaded.

All parties supported these measures which made France "the missionary of the cause of freedom" and the declared enemy of established government in Europe.

III. The Execution of the King, January 21st, 1793.

The Mountain, knowing that the Girondins were unwilling to take strong measures against the King, sought to discredit them by demanding the trial of the King with a view to his execution. His person had already been declared irrevocable,¹ and the only penalty for bearing arms against France, the sole crime of which he could be proved guilty, was deposition—and he was already deposed. St. Just and Robespierre justified their obviously illegal action on the ground of necessity of State. "The King," said Robespierre, "must die that the State may live"; they asserted that the King's guilt had already been proved by his deposition and demanded that the Convention should vote his immediate execution. Vergniaud, for the Girondins, argued

¹ Page 382.

that the question should be decided by a referendum of the sovereign people ; but Babeuf, although a disciple of Rousseau, strongly objected. Barère induced the Thiers to support the Monarchy, and the turbulent compact of the galleries threatened to murder any deputies who tried to save the King.

A. Charges.

The King was charged with supporting the Feuillants, trying to suppress the Constitution, neglecting the army and thus causing the fall of Longchamp and Verdier, buying up corn.

(January 6th. Arrival of Dumouriez in Paris to save the King.)

B. The voting.

January 18th, 1793. Three questions were put to the Convention—

1. Is Louis Capet guilty ?
2. Should an appeal to the people be allowed ?
3. What punishment should be inflicted ?

(1) The King's guilt.

Not one deputy voted for the King's innocence ; "the sense of courage was abstention, and only five deputies reached this pitch of valour." The vote was illegal : every charge ought to have been voted upon separately, but all the charges were taken together.

(2) The Referendum.

Largely owing to division among the Girondins the vote went against the Referendum.

(3) Punishment.

Two attempts of the Spanish ambassador to intercede failed ; Danton carried a motion that the decision should be made by a bare majority and not by a majority of two-thirds, as was necessary in criminal cases. Vergniaud's vote for execution

probably decided the issue; Philippe Égalité voted against his cousin. Of 721 members present 361, an absolute majority of 320, voted for death without condition. An attempt to procure a respite was rejected by 280 votes to 240.

January 2nd, 1793. Louis XVI was guillotined at 10.30 a.m. on the Place de la Révolution.¹

Louis XVI, says Mignet, "was the best but the软est of Kings. His virtues bequeathed to him a revolution. . . . He is perhaps the only prince who had no passions, not even that of power, and who united the two essential qualities of a good Emperor of God and love of the people. He perished the victim of passions which he did not share."

IV. The Committees.

The danger from the Allies, internal disaffection, which in some cases became active rebellion, and the weakness of the Directoire led to new arrangements which were skilfully used by the Mountain to strengthen its position.

A. The Committee of General Defence.

January 4th, 1793. Appointment by the Convention of the Committee of General Defence. It was really a reorganisation of a former committee. Its appointment was an acknowledgement of the need of stronger executive action, but it effected little.

B. The Revolutionary Tribunal.

February 1st, 1793. France declared war on Britain and Holland; Dumourier's invasion of Holland proved a failure; new losses, due to the expenses of the war, further depressed the value of assignats; on February 2nd, 1793, the ballot for the army was extended to the whole of France; dissatisfaction with the Directoire grew, and the Jacobin Club tried to stir up the Paris mob against them; a tumult took place, but a shower of rain dispersed the rioters.

¹ Now known as the Place de la Concorde.

March 29th, 1793. Danton, in spite of the opposition of the Girondins, secured the establishment of a Revolutionary Tribunal to act as an extraordinary criminal court and to judge without appeal.

C. The First Committee of Public Safety, April 6th, 1793.

(1) The insurrection in La Vendée.

March 16th, 1793. Beginning of the insurrection in La Vendée, due partly to indignation at the savage persecution of priests and émigrés, partly to the decree of February 16th. The leaders were Cathelineau, a banker, Roche, a gunsmith, Henri de la Rochejaudain and De Lessore who were nobles. An insurrectionary army of about 40,000 men was raised; the help of Britain and Spain was sought.

(2) Dumouriez.

March 18th, 1793. Defeat of Dumouriez at Bapaume. He now opposed the Government, declared to Congress from Paris that the Convention consisted of "300 scoundrels and 600 imbeciles," opened negotiations with the Austrians and threatened to march on Paris. His army refused to support him and he fled to the Austrians on April 5th, 1793, having seriously disorganized the Army of the North.

(3) The Committee.

April 6th, 1793. Establishment, on Danton's motion, of The First Committee of Public Safety to raise soldiers to meet pressing danger. It consisted of nine members, some of whom were Girondins; Danton was the leading member. The Committee had no power over finances and was to be re-elected each month.

This Committee was really a dictatorship of nine; it gave Revolutionary France a real executive for the first time; the Committee and the Revolutionary Tribunal were soon to prove the foundations of the Terror.

D. The Committee of Twelve.

The power of the Gironde grew. It compelled the Convention on May 1st, 1793, to extend to the whole of France a maximum price of corn which had been established in Paris in September, 1792; on May 19th, 1793, it established a "commission" among its agents there and forced the Convention to pay each Breton 60 francs forty sous a day; a new Committee of Inspection was established which urged the expulsion of the Girondins from the Convention.

The Girondins proposed to suppress the popular authorities in Paris and to transfer part at least of the Convention to Bourges. But, as Thuriot's suggestion, they appointed on May 25th, 1793, a Committee of Twelve, all Girondins, to investigate the recent acts of the Sections and Commissars. The Twelve arrested Hébert, a mob compelled the Convention to release him; the Gironde compelled the Convention to suppress The Twelve on May 27th; the Girondins picked up enough courage to re-establish it on May 28th.

V. The Fall of the Girondins, June 2nd, 1793.

The struggle between the Girondins and the Mountain was the great problem with which the Convention in its earlier stages had to deal. The Girondins accused the Mountain of having instigated the September massacre, of subservience to the Coburgs and of encouraging anarchy. The Mountain accused the Girondins of sympathy with the monarchy because many had opposed the execution of the King, and of a desire to weaken the unity of France by establishing federal government in the provinces; as against Federalism they asserted the importance of "The Republic, one and indivisible."

A. The weakness of the Girondins.

Although they had a majority in the Convention and considerable support in the provinces; in spite of the brilliant ability of individual members and the number

of real virtues the party possessed, the Girondins were weak. They professed to be animated by high principle, but ambition and ambition were their real motives. They lacked statesmanship and political capacity; they " sacrificed vigour of action to violence of invective."

(1) Lack of popular support.

a. They were not popular in the provinces and had no power in Paris, where they could command no force strong enough to overawe the Commune, the Sections and the mob.

b. Departmental Guard.

October 19th, 1793. Owing to the opposition of the Sectionals they refused to form a Departmental Guard of 4472 provincials who might have enabled them to maintain their position in Paris.

c. Fédérés.

They failed to secure the active support of the well-disposed *fédérés* from Marseille who came to Paris in October, 1793.

(2) Lack of steady, common policy.

They utterly failed to carry out their policy of putting down anarchy, punishing the September massacres and establishing firm government. Lack of cohesion and party discipline prevented them from taking advantage of their majority, and sound decisions proved useless through lack of energy to put them into execution. They failed to inspire confidence and therefore to gain adequate support.

a. They did not desire the King's death, but they failed to use their majority to prevent it.

b. They showed conspicuous lack of statesmanship in refusing, owing to his share in the September massacres, to co-operate with Danton, who had seen the urgent need for firm and conciliatory government and was willing to co-operate with the Girondins to establish it.

- c. They ought to have crushed the Vendée, but they failed to establish the charges they made against Robespierre on October 29th, 1793; they arrested but were compelled to release Hébert in May, 1793; they failed to establish a Departmental Guard or to win over the National Guard to act against the Vendée; their appointment of the Committee of Twelve on May 18th, 1793, was an inadequate substitute for the vigorous action which was essential for success.
- d. They passed, under pressure from the Vendée, laws suppressing speculation and interfering with the free trade, although they regarded them as violations of individual liberty.

B. The strength of the Mountain.

The Mountain had been strengthened by the efforts of the Deputies on Mission sent to levy forces, who founded Jacobin Clubs everywhere and by April, 1793, had established the supremacy of the Vendée over all France except Lyons, La Vendée, Marseilles, Bordeaux and Paris. The Committee, the army of Sambre-et-Meuse, the support of nearly all the Sections and their control of the mob made the Vendée supreme in Paris.

C. The fall of the Girondins.

May 21st, 1793. The Túlerie, whither the Convention had retreated from the rampart,¹ was surrounded by a mob whose violence compelled the Convention to abolish the Committee of Twelve, although it refused to prosecute its own members.

June 2nd, 1793. An armed force under Hébert, now Commander of the National Guard, surrounded the Tuilerie and pointed cannon at the members, who, under this intimidation, voted the suspension of ten of

¹ Page 226.

the Committee of Twelve, twenty deputies, including Vergniaud, Couthon, Gruet, Brissot, Pétion and Barère, and two ministers.

References:

- Bureaucracy Stamps* (Moses Stephens), Birkingham, chap. xv.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. II.
The French Revolution (Gardiner), chap. vi.
Lectures on the French Revolution (Lord Acton), lectures xv-xvi.
History of the French Revolution (Higne), G. Bell and Sons,
 chaps. vi, vii.

FROM THE FALL OF THE GIRONDINS, JUNE 2nd, 1793, TO THE EXECUTION OF ROBESPIERRE, JULY 28th, 1794 THE TERROR

1. The Mountain, June 2nd-July 28th, 1793.

A. Tendency to conciliation.

The Mountain now gained the leadership of the Convention and under the guidance of Danton adopted a conciliatory policy and tried, unsuccessfully, to check the violence of Hébert. The suspended Girondins were allowed some measure of liberty; in June, 1793, the Mountain drew up a new Constitution, but the condition of France led them to postpone its establishment and to strengthen the Committee of Public Safety in which Danton was the leader; they tried to re-establish discipline in the army and appointed Couthon to command in the North, Barras in the Rhine, Biron in La Vendée; at Danton's suggestion the Edict of November 19th, 1792,¹ was repealed.

¹ Page 353.

B. Reaction in the provinces.

(1) Girondin risings.

The Girondins had tried to rouse the provinces against the Paris mob; owing to the reactionary spirit which manifested itself in more than sixty departments and to resistance at the arms of the Girondins, risings took place in Normandy and particularly at Cher, at Rouen, Bayeux and Mamers. The Massétilis decided to march on Paris.

July 10th, 1793. Assassination of Marat in his bath by Charlotte Corday of Creuz, a strong supporter of the Girondins.

(2) Royalist risings.

The Royalists gained the supremacy at Lyon, where the leading Jacobins were excommunicated, at Toulon and in the departments of Ardèche and Lot.

(3) La Vendée.

The rebels in La Vendée, led by De Lesseps and De la Rochejaudier, captured Thourou on May 3rd, 1793, and Saumur, which afforded a passage to the right bank of the Loire on June 10th. The rebels now decided to co-operate with the reactionaries in Normandy and Brittany.

C. Danger from the Allies.

The Northern Army had been weakened by the treachery of Dumetries; the Imperial, under Coburg, invaded France.

D. The Great Committee of Public Safety, July 18th, 1793.

The establishment of a strong government, which Danton desired, would have stopped the anarchy which the extremists found so profitable, and probably spared the punishment of those who had been guilty of violence. For their own safety Robespierre and Hébert desired to weaken the Mountain. The danger arising from foreign

Invasion and internal rebellion required a strong executive. Both these causes combined to cause the election of the Great Committee of Public Safety on July 10th, 1793, which from September 6th, 1793, to July 27th, 1794, was absolute ruler of France and used the Terror to maintain its position.

The Convention continued, but "assented without a murmur every measure proposed by the Committee."¹ On October 10th, 1793, the Convention, instead of enforcing the Constitution it had recently drawn up, resolved, on St. Just's proposal, "that the government be revolutionary until the peace." The Committee of General Defense, which exercised general police control over France, became subservient to the Great Committee of Public Safety, which by Deputies on Mission, who established Revolutionary Committees in towns and were attached to the armies, maintained its authority over the provinces and over the republican generals.

The Biblicists, the most extreme Republicans, relied on the rank of Paris, to whom Hébert's *éphémère*, *Le Père Duchesne*, strongly appealed, secured predominance in the Committee and had many supporters in the army. Their object was plunder and personal profit. They were jealous of Robespierre, and up to March, 1794, exercised considerable influence on the course of events.

The Terror was the work of only a very small proportion of the population. The Terrorists in Paris were not more than 3000 in number.

A. Composition.

As finally constituted on September 6th the Committee consisted of eleven members. Danton was not a member, and the election of the new Committee marks the rejection of his policy.

¹ *Mme. Vigotra.*

(1) Robespierre.

Robespierre, supported by Couthon and St. Just, used the Terror to establish the ideal Republic which Rousseau had advocated. Robespierre had charge of no department of State; he was not popular with most of his colleagues, but his reputation for incorruptibility and his definite republican policy made his co-operation valuable.

(2) Billaud-Varenne and Collot d'Herbois.

These two, who joined the Committee on September 6th, were responsible for the most features of the Terror. They intended, not for political principles, but from sheer delight in slaughter.

(3) The Administrators.

The Administrators used the Terror to recognise the terms of France, but otherwise were not responsible for its excesses. Carnot, "The Organiser of Victory," assisted by Priet of the City of Or, reorganized the army with conspicuous success; St. André tried to make the raised levy efficient.

B. Military operations.

The army was purged of any remaining nobles; the union of the old regular army, the troops of the line, with the new battalions in February, 1793, had formed a united revolutionary army. In August a general levy resulted in the addition of 450,000 men. France became an armed camp. The training, discipline and equipment necessary were supplied owing to the brilliant administrative ability of Carnot.

(1) The Allies.

In July and August, 1793, the French suffered serious reverses. They lost Condé,¹ Valenciennes,² Malin,³ Toulon,⁴ and Le Quesnoy; the Spaniards

¹ Page 587.² Page 587.³ Page 587.⁴ Page 588.

defeated the French in the Pyrenees ; Pelli raised a rebellion in Cavaña. But the revolutionary army saved the situation by the victories of Hondarribia¹ on September 8th ; Wattignies,² on October 16th ; and, after a defeat at Weissenberg on October 12th, Kaiserslautern on November 18th-20th ; and Weissenberg on December 20th.

(2) La Vendée.

The victorious Vendéens failed to capture Nantes, where Orléanais was killed, and their failure saved the Republic ; won five pitched battles between September 19th and 26th, 1793 ; crossed the Loire, in spite of the advice of La Rochejaudain, but were routed by Hôpital at La Môle on December 12th and Savonay on December 13th.

(3) The South.

Carteaux took Marseille on August 26th ; Lépénaz surrendered to Kellermann on October 9th, 1793 ; Toulon fell on December 18th, largely owing to the skill of Bonaparte, who commanded a battery of artillery.

(4) Normandy.

July 12th, 1793. The "army of Calvados" ran away from a Republican force at Vernon ; the Grenadiers defected from Cherbourg to Bordeaux.

III. The Terror.

A. Terrorist legislation.

The establishment of the Great Committee of Public Safety marks the beginning of the Terror, an "era of blind and indiscriminate violence" ; it was stimulated by new decrees passed in September.

(1) September 2nd, 1793. A suspensive law of 1000 million francs was enforced, and, by the Law of the

¹ Page 368.

² Page 368.

maxima, prices were further reduced and the penalty of death imposed on all who demanded higher prices than the maximum.

- (2) September 6th, 1793. The Revolutionary Tribunal was divided into four sections; it could then deal more rapidly with the prisoners committed by the Revolutionary Committee of the Sections.
- (3) September 9th, 1793. By the "Law of the Party Seats" a payment of forty sous was made for each attendance at Sectional Assemblies, which were to meet every Sunday and Thursday.
- (4) September 6th, 1793. A Revolutionary Army of 6000 infantry and 1200 artillermen was established to support the Committee of Public Safety.
- (5) September 17th, 1793. The Law of the Suspects, "the provinces of the guillotine," ordered the arrest of all who had shown themselves enemies of liberty, among whom were included all who had in any way opposed the Republic, had no *cette de citoyen*, had been suspended from office by the Convention, were nobles or relatives of nobles, *émigrés* or their agents. Fifty thousand Revolutionary Committees were to be formed to discover suspects in the provinces.

From the September massacres the Revolution had been to some extent a Reign of Terror. The decree of September, 1793, and especially that of September 17th, established Terror as a legal and organized method of government.

B. The working of the Terror.

"To be safe," said Hibert, "you must kill all"; farmers, speculators and artisans who had broken the Law of the Maximum, as well as Royalists, nobles, *émigrés* and unsuccessful generals, suffered under the

Terror. The guillotine¹ stood on the Place de la Révolution, and the property of its victims passed to the State. "We earn money," said Barbe, "on the Place de la Révolution."

(1) Paris.

a. The Queen.

October 16th, 1793. Execution of Marie Antoinette for favoring the Allies, sending money to the Emperor, encouraging a Counter-Revolution, betraying the place of France to the Allies. She ended imprisonment and met her death with dignified courage.

b. The Girondins.

October 3rd, 1793. Execution of Vergniaud, Brissot and other leading Girondins.

November 10th, 1793. Execution of Madame Roland.

Brissot of Roland (November 18th), Condorcet (March, 1794), Fréron and Rameau (June, 1794).

c. Other victims.

November 6th, 1793, Philippe Thévenet; November 13th, Bailly; Generals Cartine, Houchard and Biron; May 18th, 1794, Princess Elizabeth; Madame du Barry.

(2) The provinces.

October, 1793. Lyons. Collot d'Herbois and Fouquier shot prisoners in batches and destroyed much of the town.

At Marseilles, Fréron and Barnave condemned 160 people in ten days; at Bordeaux, Tallien had 100 guillotined. At Nantes, where he introduced Napolet, Carrier was responsible for the death of perhaps 15,000. His cruelty led the defeated Vendéens to remain under arms rather than surrender.

¹ So called from Dr. Guillotin, who had invented the machine which replaced the sword as the instrument of public execution.

In December, 1793, La Vendée was entirely devastated by the "victoire impitoyable" of General Dumouriez.

(3) General.

The total number of victims of the Terror is said by Taine to have been 17,000, but was far more. The Revolutionary Tribunal of Paris executed 3925 between April 5th, 1793, and July 27th, 1794, and more than a third of the victims belonged to the lower classes.

The Terror "intended tyrannically in all the affairs of life"; newspapers were sternly censored; taxes levied unfairly; private letters opened and property requisitioned.

IV. Attack on Religion.

The Hébertists were atheist, and owing to their influence the Commune and Convention attacked Christianity. "We want," said Hébert, "no other religion than that of Nature; no other temple than that of reason; no other worship than that of liberty, equality and fraternity."

A. Abolition of the Christian calendar.

The Republican calendar started with September 1792, from which date the years of the Republic were numbered. The twelve months were named according to the season: Vendémiaire, Brumaire, Frimaire for the autumn; Nivôse, Pluviôse, Ventôse for winter; Germinal, Floréal, Prairial for spring; Messidor, Thermidor, Fructidor for summer. A month consisted of three decades each of ten days. The tenth day was a day of rest.

Thus Sunday and the Saints Days were abolished.

B. The Clergy.

Pensions were offered to priests who gave up their spiritual duties; those who refused were transported, in

Scapini. On November 7th, 1789, Gobel, Archbishop of Paris, publicly resigned his office. Grignan, Bishop of Eze, refused to resign.

C. The worship of Reason.

November 10th, 1789. The feast of Reason was celebrated in Notre-Dame, where a woman of infamous character, wearing a cap of liberty and carrying a pike, represented Reason.

November 16th, 1789. The Commune closed all Christian churches in Paris.

V. Attempted Reform.

Many of the less extreme members of the Convention made an honest attempt at reform, although lack of money and other causes prevented their measures from being put into execution.

A. Feudal privileges.

Any remaining duties which were feudal in character were abolished without compensation.

B. Education.

Laws were passed for the establishment of free, compulsory, nocturnal, primary schools and of three schools of medicine at Paris.

Orders were issued for the preservation of the old monastic libraries.

C. Civil Code.

Preparations were made for the compilation of a Civil Code.

D. Property.

Parents were compelled to leave at least five-sixths of their property equally between their children.

E. Slavery.

Negro slavery was abolished.

I. The Fall of the Hébertists.

A. Causes of their unpopularity.

The presence of Collet and Billard in the Committee of Public Safety and their great influence in the Commune, the army and the Cordeliers Club were the foundations of the power of the Hébertists. But their robbery and pillage emptied the Treasury and hampered the efficiency of the army; their generals proved incompetent; the Committee of Public Safety feared that the Hébertists would transfer its power to the Commune; strong opposition had been provoked by their attacks on Christianity; the Terror, the work of a small minority, was viewed with horror by the great majority of Frenchmen.

II. Union of Robespierre and Danton.

When Collet went to Lyons, Billard sided with the Committee rather than the Commune. Robespierre, anxious to overthrow Hébert but to maintain the Terror, combined with Danton, who favoured a moderate policy, and both resisted the attacks of the Hébertists. Danton, on December 4th, 1793, weakened the Hébertists by laws which gave the Committee of Public Safety, and not the Commune, authority over the Armies and forbade the Committee any longer to send Deputies or Missionaries to the departments. This law "marks the final step in the establishment of the supremacy of the Committee of Public Safety."¹

With the approval of Robespierre and Danton, Camille Desmoulins violently attacked the action of the Hébertists in the *Pique Cordeliers*, which first appeared on December 6th, 1793, and pleaded for the cessation of the Terror which the recent success of the French armies had rendered unnecessary. "I suspect," he said, "that the men they are killing by hundreds have also wives and children."

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, page 266.

C. The Fall, March 1794.

At one time Robespierre wavered, but his position was strengthened by the return of St. Just to the Committee and by the support of Hébert, the commander of the military force of the Convention.

March 17th, 1794. Arrest of Hébert, Chavagnat, Vincent, Cloots and others.

March 26th, 1794. Execution of the Hébertists, who had been condemned by the Revolutionary Tribunal for trying to overturn the Convention and restore the monarchy.

VII. The Fall of the Dantonists.

Danton's desire for the mitigation of the Terror raised the hostility of Collot and Billaud; Robespierre was glad to get rid of a possible rival; St. Just led the attack in the Convention on Danton on March 20th, 1794. Danton pleaded that his record proved his fidelity to the Revolution; his sister-in-law made his defence audible on the other side of the Seine; the Tribunal, fearing popular intercession on his behalf, cut short the trial and refused to allow all the prisoners to make their defences.

April 8th, 1794. Execution of Danton, Desmoulins and others.

VIII. The Ascendancy of Robespierre.

Robespierre was now supreme. The Mountain had been crushed with Danton, the Commune with Hébert. One of his supporters became Mayor of Paris; he was supreme in the Jacobin Club and the Revolutionary Tribunal; Hébert, the Commander of the National Guard, was his strong supporter. In the Convention he could count on the support of the Plain, but in both the Committee of Public Safety and the Committee of General Defence his influence was weak: in the former only Couthon and St. Just, in the latter only David and Lebas supported him.

A. The Festival of the Supreme Being, June 8th, 1794.

Robespierre saw that the Terror was unlikely to last and, realising that public feeling had reacted the hostility and atheism of Hébert, resolved to win further support by inaugurating a Reign of Virtue which would give practical effect to the teaching of Rousseau. But the Reign of Virtue was to be established by the destruction of all who might hinder it, i.e. the Terror was to continue.

May 11th, 1794. Robespierre persuaded the Convention to recognise officially the existence of a Supreme Being and the immortality of the soul.

June 8th, 1794. Robespierre presided at the Festival of the Supreme Being held in the gardens of the Tuileries.

B. The Law of 22 Prairial.

June 10th, 1794. Robespierre persuaded the Convention to pass the Law of 22 Prairial, by which the Revolutionary Tribunal was divided into four committees to facilitate its operations; accused were not allowed counsel; the only punishment was death; there was no appeal, and the decision was left "to the consciences of juries." The permission of the Convention was to be no longer necessary for the trial of deposition.

In less than seven weeks the reorganised Tribunal exacted the execution of 1368 persons.

This law, by strengthening the Revolutionary Tribunal, was likely to confirm Robespierre's ascendancy. It was obviously intended to use the Terror as a means of overthrowing Robespierre's opponents.

C. The Fall of Robespierre, July 28th, 1794.

Robespierre was not popular with the majority of the Terrorists, who resented his pseudo of incomparability and virtue. The remaining Hébertists, Collot and Couthon, objected to the worship of the Supreme Being, which emphasised the differences between them and him. The Law of the 22 Prairial created general consternation. The Convention and the two Public Committees seemed in immediate danger.

A. Robespierre's mistakes.

Robespierre's great mistake was that he relied on his moral influence and did not use the support of the Commune and Hébert to crush his opponents by force.

- (1) June 13th, 1794. A report of the traitor Catherine Thoët, who was said to have regarded Robespierre as the Messiah. Robespierre therefore retired from public life for a fortnight and gave his entire time to writing.
- (2) July 26th, 1794. In a great speech in the Convention Robespierre made a general attack on his enemies without specifying any by name. All feared his vengeance, and few provided resistance. The remaining Hébertists and Dantonists, independent Montagnards, the Plain, his supporters on the two Committees, all combined against him.

B. The fall of Robespierre.

July 27th, 1794. Robespierre was arrested and placed in the Luxembourg. He went to the Commune, but the Communards and Hébert did not stir up a rising, and the artillerists disobeyed Hébert's orders to open fire on the Convention. A mob which might have supported Robespierre dispersed owing to heavy rain.

July 28th, 1794, 10th Thermidor. Danton, appointed to supersede Hébert, attacked the Communards at 2 a.m. and captured Robespierre, Couthon and St. Just, who had been outlawed by the Convention. They, and eighteen others, were executed at dawn without trial, and the majority of the Communards of Paris soon suffered a similar fate.

References:

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THE REACTION AND THE END OF THE CONVENTION, JULY 27TH, 1794—OCTOBER 26TH, 1795

The parties which had adored the revolution of Thermidor had been united only by hatred of Robespierre. Collot and Bellot wished to secure the power for themselves and to maintain the Terror. But the Thermidorians, including Brissot, Tallien, Fréron and Barras, wished to end the Terror and secured a majority in the Convention, where the Fédéralists strongly resisted any attempt to reimpose the Terror. The Thermidorians were strengthened by the victory at Fleurus¹ on June 20th, 1794, which showed that the Terror was no longer necessary for the safety of France, and by the recall, on December 9th, 1794, of the members who had protested against the arrest of the Girondins and, on March 5th, 1795, of the surviving Girondin deputies, including Lebas and Isard.

Popular opinion, which expressed itself with growing power, demanded the repeal of Terrorist legislation and the punishment of the leading agents of the Terror, and found strong expression in such reactionary papers as Fréron's *L'Amour du Peuple*, which first appeared on September 10th, 1794.

In Paris the *Journal des Débats*, supported by Wilson and consisting of young men of the middle and richer classes, led the reactionary mob and sacked the Jacobin Club on November 26th. The Provinces strongly supported the Counter-Revolution, and in the "White Terror"² many Jacobins were murdered in Toulouse, Marseilles and Lyons during May and June, 1795.

¹ Page 358.

² So called to distinguish it from the recent "Red" Terror.

I. Reaction.

A. The Committees, Communes and Jacobin Club.

(1) The Committees.

The Committee of Public Safety became Thermidorian and much of the executive power exercised by the Committees of Public Safety and General Defence was transferred to the sixteen Committees of the Convention. The work of the former Committee was restricted to war and foreign policy; of the latter to police. The powers of Deputies on Mission were curtailed. The Jacobin Committees in provincial towns were suppressed.

(2) The Communes.

July 27th, 1794. The Commune of Paris was abolished and soon replaced by Commissioners appointed by the Convention.

(3) The Jacobin Club.

November 12th, 1794. The Jacobin Club was closed.

B. The reversal of the policy of the Terror.

(1) The repeal of Terrorist legislation.

August, 1794. Repeal of the Law of 22 Prairial.¹

August 26th, 1794. Repeal of the Law of the Forty Days. Consequent weakening of the influence of the mob in Sectional Assemblies.

December 23rd, 1794. Repeal of the Law of the Maximum.

(2) The Church.

"The majority of Frenchmen were irreversibly attached to the Catholic religion,"² and although the Convention was largely atheist, public opinion compelled it to reverse its religious policy.

a. The Law of 3 Vendémiaire.

February 21st, 1795. Owing to the efforts of the Abbé Grégoire, who had remained faithful

¹ Page 371.

² Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, page 222.

ful to Catholicism, the Convention granted liberty of worship, but imposed restrictions on places of worship. Mass was said in Paris on February 2nd, and the restrictions were disregarded.

B. Treatment of priests.

The decree of banishment which had been passed against priests were repealed; the Convention undertaken to pay allowances to acting priests, while continuing to pay pensions to those who had abdicated.

(3) The Assignats.

December 21st, 1794. The sale of the property of friends of design was stopped.

[May 3rd, 1795. The property of people who had been guillotined was restored to their friends.]

C. The punishment of the Terrorists.

August 10th, 1794. The Revolutionary Tribunal was reorganized and most persons accused were acquitted; from August 10th to September 10th only fourteen were condemned out of 293. But popular clamour compelled the Convention to punish Terrorists.

August 10th, 1794. Execution of "Robespierre's tail."

December 10th, 1794. Condemnation, and subsequent execution of Carrier.¹

March 2nd, 1795. Hébert, Couthon and Babeuf were tried and sentenced to transportation, but Babeuf was allowed to escape.

D. Dress and manners.

The red cap of liberty was given up in favour of hats; the words "citizen" and "citizens" were no longer used, and the familiar "thou" and "thee" were discarded as a method of address.

¹ Page 364.

II. Risings against the Convention.

The Jacobins viewed with alarm the progress of reaction and feared that further vengeance would be taken on the Terrorists, especially after the return of the Girondin supporters on March 5th, 1793. They demanded the establishment of the Constitution of 1793.

Grocery distress prevailed in Paris. The assignats fell rapidly and in May, 1793, were worth only seven per cent of their nominal value; prices were inflated, and the poorer classes were kept alive only by occasional distribution of meat and by the daily distribution of bread at three sous a pound. But farmers tended to hold up supplies, especially after the repeal of the Maximum, and many died of starvation. Material suffering gave an opportunity to Jacobin agitators.

A. Jacobin risings.

(1) The rising of 12 Germinal.

April 1st, 1793. A mob entered the Convention demanding "Bread and the Constitution of 1793." But the middle class were determined that the Terror should not be re-established. The National Guard supported the Convention, the rising was easily suppressed and Pichegru restored order in Paris.

The rising strengthened the forces of reaction. It started the punishment of Billaud, Collot and Barre, and provided a decree that all Terrorists should be disarmed.

April 6th, 1793. Arrest of fifteen of the leading Montagnards.

April 10th, 1793. The National Guard was reorganized as a middle-class force.

May 7th, 1793. Execution of Brissot-Tourville, the former Public Accuser; fifteen judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal were executed after a trial lasting six weeks.

May-June, 1793. Many Thermidors were murdered in the White Tower at Lyons, Toulouse, Arles and Marseilles.

(2) The rising of 2 Prairial.

May 20th, 1793. With the approval of the Jacobins a starving mob, drawn largely from the Faubourg St. Antoine and including many "Paris of the Guillotine," entered the Convention, demanded "Bread and the Constitution of 1793," murdered a deputy, Péraud. The hall was cleared by the National Guard; the Convention promised to supply more bread and to consider the question of the Constitution. Blanqui, with a force of 30,000 men, supplied largely by the middle-class sections, compelled the Faubourg St. Antoine to surrender.

The Convention took further repressive measures. The Sections were abolished and replaced by twelve municipalities¹; the National Guard was again reorganized; the Revolutionary Tribunal was suppressed on May 22nd, 1793; sixty-two Blanquards were arrested (but Carnot was spared owing to his organization of victory) and the Jacobin party was finally destroyed.

[April 5th, 1793. The Treaty of Basle with Prussia, followed by treaties with Holland (April), Sweden (May) and Spain (July), strengthened the position of the Convention.]

B. Royalist risings.

(1) The Dauphin and the Comte de Provence.

The Royalist party, which found some support even in the Convention, was encouraged by the progress of reaction, and gradually the idea grew that the reactionary class could put an end to famine and misery. Growing sympathy was felt with the little Dauphin

¹ Arrondissements.

(Louis XVIII), but when he died on June 18th, 1795, owing to the utter brutality with which he had been treated, his uncle the Comte de Provence, afterwards Louis XVIII, succeeded to his rights. He might have secured the throne by a conciliatory policy, but feebly denounced the Constitutionalists and threatened vengeance on all who had opposed the monarchy.

(2) La Vendée.

The Royalists resolved, with the aid of Britain, which had refused to make peace with France, to take advantage of the discontent in La Vendée, where a fresh rising, headed by Charette, Stofflet and the Marquis de Polignac, had broken out owing to the cruelty of Turenne.¹ An English fleet defeated a French squadron and landed 3500 troops at Quiberon Bay on June 29th, 1793.

July 20th, 1793. Hache's army routed the combined forces of dragoons and Chouans.² Tallien, who represented the Convention, was suspected of Royalist intrigues and tried to prove his loyalty by a general massacre of the dragoons.

(3) The Comte d'Artois.

October, 1793. Failure of an expedition of English troops and French dragoons which had been arranged by the Comte d'Artois.³ Execution of Charette and Stofflet.

III. The Constitution of the Year III.

Both the recent risings had aimed at the establishment of the Constitution of 1791. But the constitutional party desired a less democratic Constitution, and a new scheme, due largely to Boissy d'Anglas, was drawn up.

¹ Page 562.

² The Vendéens were called Chouans because one of their leaders used the sign of a small red chouette, or a scops.

³ Afterwards Charles X.

A. The new Constitution.

(1) The Legislature.

The Legislature was to consist of two chambers. The lower chamber, the Council of Five Hundred, had a minimum age limit of thirty and alone could propose laws; war could not be declared nor treaties made without the sanction of the Legislature. The Council of Ancients, limited to married men or widowers at least forty years of age, and therefore, presumably, of sound judgment, had only the right of voting later.

The deputies were chosen by secondary assemblies which were elected by primary assemblies, and there was a property qualification for each assembly. One-third of each Council was to retire annually.

(2) The Executive.

The Executive was to consist of a Directory of Five elected by the Ancients from fifty candidates nominated by the Five Hundred. Each Director was to preside over the Directory for three months; one Director retired annually.

The Directors were to appoint six ministers, but neither ministers nor Directors could sit in either Council of the Legislature. Directors had no veto on legislation, and, while generally directing foreign policy and dispensing of the armed forces, could not themselves command troops. Directors were liable to impeachment.

(3) Local government.

The system of local government established in 1791 was retained with some alterations. Departments were retained, but the directorates of departments and districts were abolished, the number of local military police was reduced, and Commissioners nominated by the Directory replaced the elected officials who had previously directed local administration.

(1) General.

The liberty of the individual, liberty of worship, freedom of the press and security of property were guaranteed; political clubs and armed assemblies were forbidden.

(2) Chambers.

Although the Declaration of the Rights of Man was retained, the Constitution of 1791 showed that its framers had profited by the failures of the Legislative Assembly and the Convention.

The institution of two chambers, the separation of the Executive from the Legislature and the careful definition of the powers to be exercised by the different parts of the new Government avoided some serious faults in previous constitutions. The provisions that voting in the chamber should be secret, that spectators of the session should be limited in number, that the Legislative Chambers might, if necessary, meet elsewhere than in Paris, that troops should not come close enough to overrun the chamber, showed that the rule of the mob would be no longer tolerated. The Constitution remained republican, but became bourgeois rather than democratic.

B. The Powers of 9 and 13 Fructidor.

But there still remained a feeling in favour of monarchy, and the fear that the new elections might result in the election of a Royalist majority which would overthrow the Republic and take vengeance on the Convention, led the Thermidorians to protect themselves by ensuring their supremacy in the proposed Legislative Chambers.

(1) 9 Fructidor.

August 1st, 1795. The decree of 9 Fructidor provided that two-thirds of the Convention were to become members of the Legislative Chambers. Thus the

rights of the districts were seriously impaired, and the danger that new members might reverse the general policy of the Revolution was alleviated.

(2) 13 Fructidor.

August 31st, 1794. The decree of 13 Fructidor empowered the Convention to fill any seats in the Legislature which had remained unfilled owing to the election of deputies for more than one constituency.

C. The Rising of 13 Vendémiaire.

The unpopularity of the Convention was greatly increased by the decree of Fructidor. Forty-two out of forty-eight Sections rose in revolt; the National Guards joined the movement, which was strongly supported by Royalists such as the Duke of Nivernais, Gencalès Servan and Léthargy.

Constituent danger led to a union of all members of the Convention—Girondins, the Plain and an-Terrorist Montagnard. Barras, appointed commander of the forces of the Convention, secured the help of Bonaparte, who brought to Paris a strong force of artillery.

October 5th, 1795. The insurgents advanced towards the Tuilleries, but were set to pieces by Bonaparte's artillery and about a thousand were killed.

October 26th, 1795. The Convention proclaimed a general amnesty, changed the name of the *Place de la Révolution* to that of the *Place de la Concorde*, and dissolved itself.

References:

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- Lectures on the French Revolution* (Lord Acton), Macmillan,
Lectures XX, XXX.
- History of the French Revolution* (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons,
chaps. II, XI.

THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR TO THE TREATY OF BASLE, APRIL 20TH, 1792—APRIL 5TH, 1795

I. General.

The Legislative Assembly declared war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia on April 20th, 1792, and Prussia, in accordance with the treaty of February;¹ declared war against France on July 24th, 1792.

A. France.

(I) The Army.

The French regular army had been reorganized by St. Germain, but dissatisfaction had been aroused by the rigid Prussian-discipline he introduced. The officers, drawn from the lesser nobility, were frequently inefficient and often left the non-commissioned officers, who formed the backbone of the army, to manage affairs. The soldiers, who were volunteers, were badly paid, badly fed and badly housed. But the old soldiers knew their work, and while the infantry and cavalry were equal to those of Prussia, the French artillerymen and military engineers were better. But the new organization was not completed; the doctrines of the sovereignty of the people and the equality of man affected the army, and committees, introduced by the Jacobin Club, often arranged commissariat; there were many desertions, and only the twenty-three regiments of foreigners were entirely trustworthy. A call for volunteers in August, 1791, led to the addition of only half the expected number by August, 1792, although the volunteers were allowed to choose their own officers and to return home at the end of a campaign. The force which defended the northern

¹ Page 222

and eastern frontier when the war started numbered only 92,000 men, and the border fortresses, particularly Longwy and Verdun, were badly equipped.

(2) The flight to Versailles.

The army had taken oaths of obedience to the King. The flight to Versailles on June 21st, 1791, weakened the morale of the army by showing that the King wished to leave France. His action cancelled their oaths.

(3) The war was national and defensive.

The *Assemblée*, by siding with foreign enemies who wished to invade France, made the war not civil but national. The *Assemblée* had to defend their country from invasion, and the negotiations of the "Austrian Committee," and especially of the Queen, with the Austrians, increased the danger. The negotiations of the Duke of Brunswick¹ raised national feeling.

"Right or wrong in its origin, the war was now unquestionably a just one on the part of France, a war against a privileged class attempting to recover by force the unjust advantages they had not been able to maintain, a war against the foreigners in defense of the right of the nation to deal with its own government."²

B. Prussia and Austria.

The death of Leopold II on March 1st, 1792, the murder of Gustavus III³ of Sweden on March 17th and the youth of Frédéric II made Frédéric William II of Prussia the leader of the Allies.

The Prussian army had deteriorated since the death of Frédéric II; its artillery, staff work, medical service and commissariat were weak. The Austrian army, though strong in cavalry, lacked supplies. The *Assemblée*, though brave individually, were of little value as a fighting force.

¹ Page 340.

² *Moder Dinge* (1791), page 22.

³ Page 323.

The Allies were weakened by dissension. Frederick William favoured a dash at Paris; Brunswick wished to seize the Barrier Fortresses. The jealousy between Prussia and Austria about the impending Partition of Poland and the obvious desire of each nation to escape territorial extinction led to discord which hampered military operations and was one of the reasons for the failure of the invasion.

The slowness of the Allies in the first four months of the war gave France time to make preparations for resistance.

II. The Campaign of 1792.

The Prussians, numbering 40,000, under Brunswick, were to march along the Moselle and to unite with an Austrian army from the Rhine; another Austrian army from the Netherlands was to attack Lille. Paris was the ultimate objective.

A. The Prussians.

(1) Bapaume.

August 2nd, 1792. The Prussians took Longwy and, on September 2nd, Verdun.

(2) The massacre of Valmy.

Dumouriez, profiting by the slow advance of Brunswick, who foolishly neglected to seize the main road to Paris, held the line of the Aigre to defend Paris.

September 20th, 1792. Dumouriez checked Brunswick at Valmy. This success greatly encouraged the French and added to the difficulties of the Prussians, who were suffering severely from sickness and lack of provisions.

Retreat of the Prussians unassisted by Brunswick, who did not know the hopeless condition of the Prussian army, welcomed the evacuation of France and was not anxious to try his "new undisciplined army" too severely. The Prussians evacuated Verdun on October 14th and Longwy on October 22nd.

D. The Rhine.

The Army of the Rhine, under Custine, took Spire on September 26th and Mainz, where it was welcomed by a revolutionary party, on October 2nd, 1792. But the conduct of Custine's troops and his heavy taxation alienated those who had sympathised with the Revolution. Custine invaded Germany and took Frankfort.

C. The Netherlands.

The Austrians failed to capture Lille and were routed by Durocquier on November 6th, 1792, at Jemappes, largely owing to the French artillery. The Netherlands was strongly anti-Austrian and the Vanderveldt were revolutionaries. Durocquier was welcomed by the Belgians, entered Namur on November 7th and Brussels on the 14th; by November 28th the Austrians had evacuated the country, Durocquier being unable to cut them off owing to lack of supplies.

The French, carried away by their success at Jemappes, on November 19th, 1792, declared themselves ready to help all peoples against their Kings; proclaimed, in defiance of all treaties, that the Scheldt was an open river because it rose in a free country; on January 10th, 1793, incorporated the Belgians in the French army, and contemplated an invasion of Holland.

But the Belgians, who were strong Catholics, greatly resented the interference of the French with Church property; the introduction of atheists injured trade; the annexation of Belgians by the Legislative Assembly scuttled national feeling, and the misconduct of the soldiers caused great indignation.

D. Nice and Savoy.

September, 1792. The French seized Nice and Savoy, which belonged to the King of Sardinia.

* Page 282.

III. The Campaign of 1793.

The decree of November 19th, 1792, was a challenge to all monarchies; the opening of the Scheldt revealed a determination to abrogate treaties and seemed to threaten Britain's naval position; the execution of Louis XVI on January 21st, 1793, aroused strong feeling against France. Pitt was anxious to save Poland and Turkey from Russia and, with this object, to reconcile France and Austria; but the growing hatred of the Revolution in England, which was increased by Burke's speech and the refusal of the French to promise that the Netherlands should not be annexed, rendered war certain.

February 1st, 1793. France declared war against Great Britain and Holland.

March 7th, 1793. France declared war on Spain.

Pitt formed the First Coalition against France, including Great Britain, Prussia, Austria, Spain and Holland.

But the Coalition was weakened by discord. Pitt insisted that Austria should retain the Netherlands and not exchange them for Bavaria, as the Emperor desired; Pitt agreed that Austria, with the help of Prussia, should seize Alsace and Lorraine; Frederick William II was unwilling to co-operate with Austria unless the Emperor agreed to the scheme for the partition of Poland which Catherine II and he had formed; Thugut, the Austrian minister, was very hostile to Prussia. Dissensions between the Allies rendered concerted action impossible and again saved France, in spite of the grave internal danger caused by the revolt of Marseilles and other towns¹ and the rising in La Vendée.

A. The Netherlands.

February 9th, 1793. The Prussians, anticipating Dumouriez, seized Maastricht. Dumouriez, though greatly hampered by lack of supplies and transport,

¹ Page 281.

invaded Holland and took Trelle and Geertruidenberg; but Miranda was forced to give up the siege of Maastricht.

March 18th, 1793. Coburg, the Austrian general, reached Dusseldorf at Krefeld, but failed to follow up the pursuit and to annihilate the beaten French army.

April 6th, 1793. Desaix joined the Austrians, but his army refused to accompany him. The French evacuated Belgium.

B. The Rhine.

(1) French failures.

March, 1793. Custine, whose left was threatened by the Prussians, retreated into France, leaving only 30,000 men to hold Mainz, which the Prussians besieged.

July 2nd, 1793. The Prussians took Mainz.

November 18th, 1793. Hoche was defeated by the Prussians at Kaiserslautern.

(2) French success.

December 26th, 1793. Hoche routed the Prussians at Weinsberg, relieved Landau and overran the Palatinate.

C. The English and Austrians in the North.

The allied forces, under the command of Coburg, now attacked the Barrier Fortresses which blocked the road to Paris. Some authorities hold that Coburg should simply have crossed the fortresses and hurried his cavalry on to Paris; others consider that, in spite of the delay his policy involved, Coburg was right to sacrifice his communications by taking the fortresses. Custine was made commander of the Army of the North.

July 10th, 1793. The Allies took Cambrai.

July 24th, 1793. The Allies took Valenciennes. Custine was guillotined for his failure. The Austrians stormed Cambrai and Valenciennes. York therefore

attacked Dunkirk, and the Prussian Lorraine. The greed of the Allies thus led them to neglect the urgent task of destroying the French armies.

August, 1793. Failure of York to take Dunkirk from the north.

September 8th, 1793. Defeat of Freytag, who was threatening Dunkirk from the east, at Hondschoote by Houssard, who was guillotined for failing to follow up his victory.

October 10th, 1793. Jourdan defeated the Austrians at Wattignies and compelled Coburg to raise the siege of Maubeuge. This victory was the first result of the policy of Carnot, who had joined the Committee of Public Safety on August 14th. He established strong central control; rapidly raised new forces of volunteers by whom, and not to the old regiments, subsequent victories were due; improved the commissariat; vastly increased the supply of guns and ammunition; favored the policy of attacking in columns rather than in line, and thus facilitated mobility of movement and rapidity of counter-stroke.

D. The South.

(I) Sardinia.

The seizure of Nice and Savoy led Sardinia to declare war. A Sardinian army invaded Savoy, but were driven out by Kellermann in September, 1793.

(II) Spain.

The Spaniards had taken up arms in defense of the principles of monarchy and of the Holy Catholic Church, and they invaded Brazilton in April, 1793.

(III) Toulon.

August 30th, 1793. Admiral Hood seized Toulon.

December 18th, 1793. The British evacuated Toulon.

IV. The Campaign of 1794 and 1795.

A. The North.

- (1) The French again conquer Belgium and reach the Rhine.

The Prussians were withdrawn for service in Poland.¹ Differences in the Austrian army, where, said Fichagras, "everyone does exactly as he pleases," and lack of cooperation between the British and Austrians, hampered the Allies.

May 18th, 1794. Fichagras' Army of the North arrived at Tournai. The Austrians and British. This defeat convinced the Directory that the march on Paris was impossible.

June 28th, 1794. Jourdan, commanding the Army of the Sambre and Meuse, who had just taken Charleroi, routed Coburg at Fleurus. The British withdrew into Holland, the Austrians to the Rhine. The victory of Fleurus, by removing the danger of foreign invasion, contributed to the overthrow of the Terror.²

- (2) Fichagras invades Holland.

October, 1794. Fichagras overran Brabant, crossed the river on the sea, took with his cavalry the Dutch fleet in the Texel and entered Amsterdam in January, 1795. The British retreated into Hanover.

B. The Rhine.

October, 1794. Jourdan pursued the Austrians and took Cologne, Andernach and Coblenz.

October, 1794. Retreat across the Rhine of Mollerndorf's Prussian army which Pitt's subsidies had brought into the field.

September, 1795. Fichagras had meanwhile negotiated with the Austrians and proceeded to overthrow the Directory and restore Louis XVIII in return for heavy tribute. Fichagras occupied Maastricht. But

¹ Page 314.

² Page 372.

displayed his orders to effect a junction with Jérôme, who, partly owing to Pichegru's treachery, was routed by the Austrians under Clauzel outside Mainz.

December 31st, 1793. Pichegru made an armistice with the Austrians.

C. The South.

November, 1793. The French defeated the Spaniards and invaded Catalonia.

November, 1793. Sibier routed the Sardinians at Lodi and secured the road into Piedmont.

D. The Sea.

June 1st, 1793. Horne declared the French fleet off Ushant on "The Glorious First of June."

Thus, in the result of four years' war, France had extended her power to the Rhine, annexed Nice and Savoy and conquered Holland.

V. The Treaties of Basle.

France having now secured her natural boundaries, re-established her position in Europe and added greatly to her territory, desired peace. She therefore made separate treaties with some of her enemies and dissolved the First Coalition.

A. Prussia, April 2nd, 1795.

Prussia was anxious to be free to profit by the Third Partition of Poland; she had withdrawn from the war against France in October, 1793, when Pitt refused to continue the English subsidy owing to the ineffective co-operation of Prussia.

April 2nd, 1795. Largely owing to the skill of Barthélemy, Prussia made the Treaty of Basle with France. The question of the extension of France to the Rhine was left over, but Prussia was to receive compensation if France obtained the provinces of Cleves and Ober-geldern which Prussia claimed. Prussia became neutral, and the French agreed to regard as neutral the southern

states of Germany. Frederick William thus appeared as the protector of North Germany and was left free to act in Poland.

B. Holland, May 19th, 1795.

Holland agreed to abolish the Stadholdership and became dependent on France. Establishment of the Batavian Republic.

C. Spain, July 22nd, 1795.

Owing to the efforts of Goacy, Spain made peace. France gave up her conquests in Spain, which ceded half of San Domingo to France.

By the end of 1795 France had made peace with Savoy, Hesse, Naples and Parma, and had secured the help of the Spanish and Dutch fleets against Great Britain.

The success of France in the war had been largely due to the enthusiasm of the new "revolutionary army," the skill of the new leaders such as Houch, who had risen from the ranks, and the inspiring and efficient efforts of Carnot.

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- The French Revolution* (Belloc), Mona University Library, chap. V.

THE DIRECTORY NOVEMBER, 1795—NOVEMBER, 1799

I. The First Directory.

a. Members.

The first Directors were Lavoisier, Lépelet, a lawyer distinguished for his hatred of Christianity and

his support of Théophilanthropy; Beauharnais, an able royalist whose influence was supreme for four years; Barras, a man of noble birth but immoral and avuncular; Letourneau who supported Cacault; Carnot, who had been elected to replace Hébert, who declined office, had shared the responsibility of the Terror. All had voted for the death of Louis XVI.

B. Divisions.

The Revolutionary party—Bebbel, Lavoisier, Lépeaux and Barras—wished to continue the war, to enforce the decree passed by the Convention on October 29th, which reserved severe penalties against clergy and relatives of émigrés, and to continue revolutionary methods. They were supported by most of the "Two Thirds," that part of the Legislature which had been nominated by the Convention.¹

The Constitutionalists, later known as the Chishires, from the Club de l'Orly to which most belonged, included Lehoux and Carnot and most of "the Third," or newly elected Five Hundred. They wished to end the war, to establish constitutional government, to abolish the law of October 29th. While not generally Royalist, some of the Chishires, in their hatred of the Terror, were inclined to establish limited constitutional monarchy. Pichotry favoured the restoration of Louis XVIII, although he refused to accept any limitation of the royal authority; some supported the Duke of Orleans (afterwards King Louis Philippe), and some a Prussian prince. These differences weakened the party and gave some grounds for the accusations of royalism.

C. The condition of France under the Directory.

(1) Finance.

a. Currency.

The financial condition of the country was hopeless, but no Budget was issued under the

¹ Page 380.

Directory and it is impossible to give full details. The assignats were of little value. On April 11th, 1794, mandates were issued in place of assignats, but soon fell to one per cent of their face value. Gold and silver became so scarce that when Bonaparte went to Italy in February, 1796, his war chest contained only two thousand francs in coin.

b. The "bankruptcy of the Two Thirds."

September 20th, 1797. By the "bankruptcy of the Two Thirds" two-thirds of the public debt were recalled and bonds, which soon lost all value, were issued instead.

c. Finance and war.

France had more than a quarter of a million men on active service, but these lived on the conquered countries and levied heavy contributions which were paid into the Treasury; the Directors instructed Bonaparte to "leave nothing in Italy which will be useful to us" and he took 750,000 francs and twenty pictures from the Duke of Modena; 11,000,000 francs and a hundred pictures from the King of Naples; 30,000,000 francs and a promise of 300,000,000 francs, five hundred manuscripts and a hundred pictures from the Pope.

The Directory was therefore bound to continue the war, because peace would have compelled it to pay the army from State funds and would have deprived it of a lucrative source of income.

d. Corruption.

The government of the Directory was utterly corrupt. Barras offered to support Malmaison's negotiations for peace at Lille on payment of 6500,000 to Basbell and himself; part of the contributions from conquered

country was subordinated by Directors and ministers. A Commission reported in 1799 that "no part of the administration was free from corruption and immorality."

Poverty, struggling and inefficient administration prevented local authorities from sending to Paris more than a fraction of the contributions due to the Government.

a. General.

Delinquency was general in the departments; the poor of Paris were kept alive only by daily doles; bridges and public works were dilapidated.

But there was a considerable growth of prosperity among the peasantry and small-holdings.

(b) Religious difficulties.

After September, 1793, the laws of October 25th, 1795, against non-juring priests, which had been nearly a dead letter, were vigorously enforced.

The Directors tried to suppress the observance of Sunday; ordered churches to be closed; schools to be opened on that day; tried to make the seventh a sabbath on which all work was prohibited; substituted republican fêtes for Christian holy days.

(c) Seigneurie.

The property of the seigneurs formed part of the security for the emigrants and had passed into other hands; a general restoration of this property would have caused social anarchy, and it was declared to belong to the State.

The Constitutional party tried, with little success, to secure the repeal of civil disabilities imposed by the law of October 25th on the relatives of seigneurs.

C. The Coup d'Etat of 18 Fructidor, September 4th, 1797.

The suppression of the conspiracies of Babeuf on May 16th, 1799, and of the Royalist Abbé Bouchet on January 30th, 1799, was easily effected.

A. Chisholm's assistance.

The elections of March and April, 1799, gave the Chisholm a majority in both chambers, but "the triumvirate"—Bonnal, Barres and Lavoisier-Laperre—outvoted the Constitutionalists, Carnot and Barthélémy.¹ The Chisholm now passed laws in favour of priests and the relatives of émigrés. They violently赶逐ed the Directory for the failure of the negotiations for peace at Lille in July, 1797, and attacked many of the ministers; on June 22nd they censured Bonaparte for his treatment of Venice and Naples.

B. The coup d'état.

The Triumvirate asserted that the Chisholm were implicated in a Royalist plot and appealed to Bonaparte for military help; he distrusted the Directory, refused to intervene personally, but sent Augereau, who was put in command of the troops in Paris, "to kill the royalists."

September 4th, 1797. Augereau, with 12,000 men, dispersed the Legislature.

C. The vengeance of the Triumvirate.

September 5th, 1797. By the Law of 18 Fructidor the supporters of the Directory annulled recent elections in forty-nine departments, all the officials of which were to be nominated by the Directoire; ordered the transportation of Carnot, Barthélémy, thirty-eight members of the Legislature, General Pichon and the Abbé Bouchet; re-enacted the laws against priests and émigrés; gave the Directors absolute power over clubs and newspapers.

¹ Who was elected in place of Lebasque on May 27th, 1795.

D. General.

The struggle between the Executive and the Legislature had ended with the victory of the former; the Legislature, until the next elections, did little but obey the orders of the Directors. But the victory was gained by the army and was a step towards the ultimate establishment of military despotism.

The massacre of Théraguet¹ was the sole justification of the change of Royalist intrigues.

Caron escaped to Switzerland, but the rest of the condemned Châtelains were transported to Guîane, where most soon died.

III. The Coup d'Etat of 18 Brumaire, November 9th, 1799.**A. The Constitutionalists come into power, 1799.**

The Directors strengthened their position by the coup d'Etat of 18 Floréal, May 19th, 1799, when they annulled the elections in some departments, nominated their own deputies in twenty-three departments and excluded forty-eight deputies from whom they anticipated opposition.

But the elections of April, 1799, went against the Directors, who were greatly weakened by the retirement of Barère, their leader, in May. He was succeeded by Bôlyan.

B. Growing discontent.**(i) The war.**

Military necessities led to the passage of the Law of Conscription on September 2d, 1798, by which all unmarried Frenchmen between the ages of twenty and twenty-five became liable to service. But the bulk of the army had gone to Egypt in May, 1798, with Bonaparte, who was willing to allow the Directors to complete their own ruin and give him an opportunity later of intervening to his own advantage. The numbers of conscripts actually enrolled fell far short

¹ Page 282.

of the number required ; generals and soldiers " found themselves without pay, without clothes, without reinforcements." Jourdan was defeated at Stockach on March 25th, 1799 ; Schérer at Mayence on April 8th ; Moreau at Cassano on April 27th ; and Soult was defeated and killed at Novi on August 15th.

(2) Internal discontent.

The Directors were most unpopular owing to their corruption, the hopeless state of the finances, the religious persecutions, conscription and their utter failure to maintain order in France and to check the brigandage that broke out in forty-five departments. They had kept their position largely owing to Bonaparte's victories in 1796-1797 ; the disasters of 1799¹ and the Law of Hostages of July 13th, which provided that their relatives might be seized as hostages for the good behaviour of agents, greatly increased the opposition to the Directors.

C. The Abbé Siéyès.

(1) The coup d'État of 30 Prairial, June 18th, 1799.

Siéyès, who was regarded as the champion of France against the tyranny of the Directors, was determined to establish a new constitution. He was supported by Barras, and on June 18th, 1799 (30 Prairial), Larvorville, Merlin de Douai and Treilhard, the other three Directors, were compelled to resign and replaced by others, of whom Danton joined Siéyès, who thus gained a majority.

(2) Bonaparte joins Siéyès.

For the revolution he contemplated Siéyès needed military force. He hoped to secure the help of Joubert, but Joubert was killed at Novi ; Moreau and Bernadotte refused to help him. Bonaparte landed at Boulogne on October 26th ; after finding that neither Bayard nor Bernadotte would help him to

¹ Page 293.

secure the supremacy he desired he agreed, on October 18th, to support Brûlé, who was popular and could rely upon the support of Duroc, though Barras now was hostile, of a majority of the Ancients and of some of the Five Hundred, of which Lucien Bonaparte had recently been elected President; Murat, Lannes and Berthier were over the officers of the army at Paris; Talleyrand and Cambacérès joined the plot.

D. The coup d'état of 18 Brumaire, November 9th, 1799.

November 9th, 1799. The Ancients voted that the Legislature should be transferred to St. Cloud, to avoid possible interference by the mob of Paris, and made Bonaparte commander of the troops. Barras, Brûlé and Duroc resigned; the other two Directors were impeached.

November 10th, 1799. The majority of the Five Hundred opposed the plot. Yet troops entered the hall and cleared it with the bayonet. A small body of selected deputies appointed a Commission which recommended that the Directory should be abolished and that Bonaparte, Brûlé and Duroc should act as a provisional government until a new constitution was established. The acceptance of these recommendations by the Ancients ended the Directory.

The military but bloodless coup d'état of 18 Brumaire was the triumph of the Republic over the corruption and inefficiency of the Directory; it was approved by all classes who supported Bonaparte because his party, of which the basic parts were not generally known, seemed to mark him out as the saviour of France. It marks a further step towards the establishment of the military despotism.

References:

Revolutionary Europe (Mars Stephen), Rivingtons, chap. vi.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chaps. XVI, XXII, XXXI.
History of the French Revolution (Bligny), G. Bell and Sons, chaps. xx, xxx.

Life of Napoleon I (Rose), G. Bell and Sons.

THE WARS OF THE DIRECTORY¹

THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA, 1796-1797.

The campaign on the Rhine had been directed against the Empire rather than Austria. The battle of Lodi had opened the way into Piedmont; the neutrality of Switzerland protected the flanks of both the Army of Italy and the Army of the Rhine. Carnot therefore resolved to attack in Italy the Austrians, who held the Milanese, in the hope of securing territory which might be exchanged for the Netherlands, and to send two armies into Germany to prevent the Austrians from concentrating in Italy. Austria was bound to maintain her hold on Italy; "to exclude the influence of the French Revolution from the Peninsula was an Austrian interest even more important than the preservation of Aix-la-Chapelle, the defence of the Rhine or the avenging of the royal victims of the guillotine."²

I. The Campaign in Germany, 1796.

June, 1796. The Army of the Sambre and Meuse, under Jourdan, rapidly advanced along the Main; the Army of the Rhine, under Moreau, along the Neckar. Subsidiaries of Württemberg, Baden and Bavaria to Moreau.

September 19th, 1796. The Archduke Charles, having wisely concentrated his forces against Jourdan, routed him at Altenkirchen. Moreau's flank was turned, but he saved his army by a masterly retreat and crossed the Rhine on October 2nd.

[August 5th 1796. By a secret treaty Prussia agreed to the extension of the French frontier to the Rhine on condition that she received the Bishopric of Münster in compensation for her territories west of the Rhine. Prussia thus

¹ For military operations in the end of 1796, see page 396.

² *Histories* (H. L. Fisher), page 25.

agreed to the disintegration of the Empire and accepted the principle of the Secularisation of Ecclesiastical States.]

II. The Campaign in Italy, 1796-1797.

A. The conquest of the Sardinians.

* March 27th, 1796. Bonaparte took command of the badly supplied and demoralised Army of Italy, relieved its immediate needs and soon inspired it with his own enthusiasm.

Victor Amadeus III, owing to the seizes of Nice and Savoy,¹ co-operated with the Austrians, who sent 35,000 men, under Beaulieu, to support him. Partly owing to lack of agreement between the Allies, Bonaparte separated them.

(1) Bonaparte's victories.

April, 1796. Bonaparte routed the Sardinians at Montebello, Doge and Millesimo and advanced on Turin.

(2) The Armistice of Chambéry.

April 22nd, 1796. Victor Amadeus III agreed to the neutrality of Sardinia and surrendered Comi and other fortresses which commanded the passage of the Alps. The Directory endorsed the Armistice and concluded a treaty by which Victor Amadeus gave up Nice and Savoy.

Bonaparte's rear was now safe and reinforcements could easily be sent from France. He therefore advanced into Lombardy.

B. The Conquest of Lombardy.

(1) Lodi.

May 10th, 1796. Bonaparte, having crossed the Po and compelled Sardinia to evacuate Milan by threatening his communications, routed him at Lodi.

¹ Page 382.

May 15th, 1796. Bonaparte entered Milan; the Duke of Modena and Parma submitted.

June 9th, 1796. Ferdinand of Naples made an alliance with Napoleon.

June 23rd, 1796. The French having occupied Ferrara and Bologna, Pope Pius VI made the Armistice of Feltre with Napoleon and promised to send 30,000,000 francs to France and many works of art.

(2) MODENA.

Although the way into Central and Southern Italy was open, Bonaparte wisely determined to complete the conquest of Lombardy and besieged Mantua, the capture of which would have facilitated the invasion of the Tyrol and a junction with the Army of the Rhine. Three attempts of the Austrians to relieve Mantua failed.

- a. August 4th, 1796. Würzburg, part of whose forces, under Quasdanowitz, had been defeated at Lodi on August 1st, was routed by Bonaparte at Chassignole, but succeeded in getting into Mantua.

[October, 1796. At the Congress of Modena, Bonaparte, contrary to the wishes of the Directors, forced Modena and the Papal States of Bologna and Ferrara into the Cispadane Republic. At the Congress of Modena "the idea of Italian unity and independence first awoke the enthusiasm of any considerable body of men."¹¹]

- b. November 18th, 1796. Bonaparte defeated Alviano at Arcola; Alviano retreated into the Tyrol.

[December, 1796. Owing to the refusal of the French to cede the Netherlands to Austria, Lord Malmesbury's peace negotiations failed.]

¹¹ Pyke.

(a) The campaign of 1797.

The success of the Aragonese Charles¹ enabled the Austrians to send larger forces into Italy; in spite of the assistance of Bologna, Pope Pius VI interceded with the Austrians, who sent Alviani to relieve Würzburg, who still held Mantua.

January 14th, 1797. Alviani with his main body was routed by Napoleon at Rivali.

January 26th, 1797. Brescia, where Alviani had sent towards Mantua by the Adige valley, was routed by Bonaparte near Mantua.

February 3rd, 1797. Mantua capitulated to Bonaparte, who became master of Austria Lombardy.

C. The Treaty of Tolentino, February, 1797.

Owing to the Pope's negotiations with Austria, Bonaparte marched against him.

February 19th, 1797. By the Treaty of Tolentino Pius VI agreed to pay immediately 30,000,000 and later 200,000,000 francs to the Directory; he ceded Bologna, Ferrara and the Romagna, which the French had conquered. Bonaparte, anxious to avoid a complete break with the Papacy, granted more favourable terms than the Directory wished.

D. The Proclamations of Leoben, 1797.

(i) The invasion of Austria.

Bonaparte was now safe from attack by the forces of the Pope and Sardinia; Naples was neutral; Lombardy had been secured, and his army had been raised to 70,000 by reinforcements from the Army of the Rhine under Bruneau. He now decided to attack Austria through Württemberg and hoped to secure the co-operation of Moscow, but though this hope was not realised his own forces proved adequate.

March 10th-19th, 1797. Bonaparte drove the Austrian northwards from the Piave, Tagliamento and Isonzo.

¹ Page 369.

Joubert entered the Tyrol and at Kлагенfurt joined Bonaparte, who defeated the Archduke Charles at Neumarkt and Unzenmarkt.

(2) Bonaparte's difficulties.

A rising of the Tyrolese threatened Bonaparte's communications; the Venetians, who had refused to make an alliance with France and were enraged at the heavy recognitions Bonaparte had made in their territory, and at the seizure of Bergamo by the French on December 22nd, 1796, were gathering forces and negotiating with Austria; he feared that he would get no support from the Rhine, although actually Hesse crossed the Rhine on April 18th. He therefore concluded with the Archduke Charles the Preliminaries of Leoben, August 17th, 1797.

- a. Austria agreed that the Rhine should be the boundary of France, and thatfeld Belgium.
- b. In Italy, Austria gave up Milan and was to receive Venice instead.
- c. A Congress was to be held at Rastadt to make peace with the Empire.

Austria dropped her ally Great Britain and accepted the neutral territory of Venice to make up for her own losses.

III. The Treaty of Campo Formio, November, 1797.

A. The fall of Venice.

April 17th, 1797. Massacre at Vicenza of four hundred sick French soldiers—the Veronese Vespetti.

April 21st, 1797. The Venetians fortifi ed on a French gondola which was trying to enter the Lido, from which foreign warships were excluded.

These actions were used by Bonaparte to excuse the French occupation of Venice.

May 19th, 1797. By the Treaty of Milan the Great

Council was abolished and a democratic republican council established ; Venice was to pay six million francs for money and kind, twenty pictures and five hundred manuscripts.

June, 1797. With a Venetian fleet the French seized the Ionian Isles.

- The power of Venice was broken ; she lay at the mercy of Bonaparte.

B. The Italian Republics.

(i) The Ligurian Republic, June, 1797.

June 28th, 1797. Establishment of the Ligurian Republic in Genoa and the neighbourhood.

(ii) The Cispadane Republic, July, 1797.

July 9th, 1797. The Cispadane Republic was established in Lombardy ; the Cispadane was united with it. Although French control was temporarily assured, another step had been taken towards the independence of Italy.

C. The Treaty of Campo Formio.

(i) Terms.

The Treaty followed the Preliminaries of Leoben.

Austria delayed making the Treaty in the hope that the Directory might be overthrown, but the coup d'etat of 18 Fructidor made them come to terms.

October 17th, 1797. Austria recognised the Rhine as the boundary of France, thus ceding Belgium ; acknowledged the independence of the Cisalpine Republic, which received Venetian territory between the Oglio and Adige, and thus gave up the Milanese ; received Venetian and Venetian territory in Istria and Dalmatia up to the Adige. The Stadtholder of Holland and the Duke of Modena were to have territorial compensation in Germany. A Congress was to be held at Rastadt to arrange terms between France and the Empire.

Second clause provided that Austria should evacuate the fortresses, including Mainz, which she held on the Rhine; that France should support the claim of Austria to Savoy and the Archbist�yric of Salzburg.

(2) Decision.

The Directory strongly objected to the grant of Venice to Austria; Bonaparte was responsible for this act of treachery.

Austria gained as much as the lost, and the loss of Belgium and the Milanese was counter-balanced by the gain of Venice and Dalmatia, which were nearer to Austria and enabled her to become one of the naval powers of the Mediterranean.

The Empire lost Toulon, Malta and the Peloponneso. Austria had sacrificed the interests of Germany.

"The Revolution, which the German Princes had thought to put down by a military processus, had proved itself stronger than Europe. . . . But if the French Revolution had mastered Europe it had itself found a master in Bonaparte."¹

December 19th, 1797. The French entered Mainz.

The Italian campaign presented the growth of a feeling of nationality in Italy and "aroused the secondary of military instincts over the democratic theories of the Revolution."

References:

Revolutionary Europe (Hans Stephan), Rivingtons, chap. vi.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VI, chap. XVII.

History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons,
chap. XII.

The Life of Napoleon (Russ), Bell and Sons.

EGYPT, MAY, 1798 TO OCTOBER, 1799.

Bonaparte was placed in command of the "Army of England" in December, 1797; but the English navy rendered an attack

¹ *Modern Europe* (Dyer and Bassett), Vol. V, page 256.

as England highly dangerous, and the Directory decided to attack the English possessions in the East through Egypt. Bonaparte was flattered by the East and had once thought of taking service with the Sultan of Turkey. The Italian fleet might serve as a base against Egypt, and Bonaparte may have had some idea of overthrowing Turkey and attacking Austria from the East. He hoped to make himself master of France, but saw that "the time is not ripe" and hoped that success in the East would strengthen his power. The Directors were glad to get rid of Bonaparte, who seemed dangerously powerful and in his recent campaign had repeatedly disregarded their orders.

I. Bonaparte in Egypt.

Turkey besieged to Egypt, which was a friendly power. The invasion of Egypt was an act of piracy for which the appetites of French merchants by the Mediterranean was inadequate justification.

May 19th, 1798. Bonaparte sailed from Toulon with 35,000 troops.

June 11th, 1798. Owing to the treachery of the Knights of St. John, Malta surrendered.

July 2nd, 1798. Bonaparte, having safely avoided the English fleet, seized Alexandria, issued proclamations asserting his sympathy with Mahranaudism and his desire to crush the Mamelukes.

July 21st, 1798. Bonaparte completely routed the Mamelukes at the Battle of the Pyramids and entered Cairo on July 22nd. He again defeated a Mameluke army at Sabtiyyah on August 11th and was master of Egypt.

August 1st and 2nd, 1798. Nelson destroyed the French fleet at the Battle of the Nile in Aboukir Bay and cut off Bonaparte and his army from France.

August 22nd, 1798. Bonaparte established the Institute of Egypt with departments of Mathematics, Physics, Political Economy and Literature.

Bonaparte's observance of Mahranaud rules failed to please the priests; heavy taxation irritated the people.

October 1st, 1798. A rising against the French at Cairo was cruelly suppressed.

II. Bonaparte's Syrian Campaign, February-May, 1799.

The Mamelukes, supported by Djemal, the Pasha of Acre, were threatening Egypt from El Arish. Turkey was now at war with France and was sending an army to reoccupy Egypt. Bonaparte invaded Syria with an army of 12,000 men in order to protect Egypt and to prevent the British from using Syria as a base.

February 10th, 1799. The French took El Arish.

March 11th, 1799. Bonaparte captured Jaffa and shot in cold blood two thousand Turkish prisoners.

March 19th-May 21st, 1799. Siege of Acre. Valuable help was given by Sir Sidney Smith, who captured Bonaparte's siege artillery, barricaded the French from the sea and landed marines to help the garrison. The withdrawal of the French was due to their heavy losses by plague and famine. In their retreat to Cairo they marched three hundred miles in twenty-six days.

III. Later Events in Egypt.

July 1st, 1799. Bonaparte routed a Turkish army at Aboukir and thus assured his hold on the country.

August 23rd, 1799. Bonaparte, learning of the difficulties that had arisen in Paris which gave him an opportunity of intervening to his own advantage, and of the need of defending the Cisjordan Republic, sailed from Egypt, leaving Elber in command. His departure, which the soldiers regarded as desertion, was justified by political conditions.

March, 1800. Elber defeated the Turks and Mamelukes at Heliopolis.

June 14th, 1800. Elber assassinated.

March 31st, 1801. Aboukir routed the French under Menou at Alexandria.

August 30th, 1801. The French capitulated at Cairo and agreed to evacuate Egypt, which was restored to the Sultan of Turkey.

IV. Results of the Egyptian Expedition.

The naval supremacy of Great Britain and the impossibility of subduing the Arabs of the Redian made Bonaparte's plan of conquering Egypt impossible. But the expedition had important results.

A. It greatly increased Bonaparte's reputation.

Bonaparte's despatch told only of victory; the French regarded him as a successful "St. Louis crusading for the glory of France."

The glory of Napoleon's achievements, as related by himself, offered a striking contrast to the failure of the Directory, ensured for him an enthusiastic welcome on his return and was one of the causes of the Revolution of the 18 Brumaire (November 9th, 1799).

B. India and Turkey.

The appalling hardships endured by the French in the unsuccessful Syrian campaign showed that Bonaparte's hope to conquer Turkey and India through Egypt could not be realized.

C. Increased Colonial and Commercial activity.

The Egyptian expedition led France to give more attention to colonies and commerce; while the threat to British interests compelled Britain to devote more attention to India and the Mediterranean and to form another coalition to keep France occupied in Europe. "The quarrel respecting predominance in the Netherlands—the chief cause of the war in 1799—was now superseded by the blow aimed at Britain's Eastern Empire."

D. Egypt.

Napoleon introduced into Egypt the methods of civilised government.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, page 616.

The investigation of the monuments of Ancient Egypt by the scholars who accompanied Bonaparte's army, and the discovery by a French officer of the Rosetta stone, greatly stimulated the study of Egyptian history.

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, chap. XII.
Life of Napoleon I (Ross), Bell and Sons.

NAVAL WARFARE

I. The French and British Navies in 1793.

A. The French Navy.

The French navy had been strengthened and re-organized under Louis XVI, but discipline had been impaired by revolutionary teaching; serious riots broke out in 1790 at Toulon, where the commander of the fleet was murdered, and Brissot.

The obligation of many of the best officers and the inefficiency of their successors, financial embarrassment which prevented the proper equipment of ships and despatchers, the ignorance of the revolutionary naval administration and the abolition of the marine guards who were suspected of opposition to the Revolution, reduced the navy to a condition of anarchy and incompetence. "It was not a navy, but a congeries of ships and men that France placed at sea."¹

B. The British Navy.

The British navy had been strengthened in 1790 in view of possible war with Spain.² The addition of the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch and Neapolitan navies gave the Allies three times as many ships as the French possessed, but the numerical superiority was largely discounted by lack of sympathy and unity of action between the Allies.

¹ *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 448.

² Page 328.

Serious discontent arose in the navy owing to remuneration at the operations of the pay-gangs, poor food, inadequate pay and persistent flogging. But British officers were far superior to French; they included Hood, Duncan and Jervis among the seniors; Collingwood, Troubridge and, above all, Nelson among the juniors, and the British victories were due mainly to the professional skill of the officers.

Nelson taught the British to make the complete destruction of hostile fleets, and not prizes, their main object; he tried to effect this by concentrating superior numbers on one part of the enemy's line. He and Jervis allowed a large measure of independent initiative to their subordinates.

B. Naval Operations to the Treaty of Campo Formio, 1797.

Operations took place mainly in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic.

A. The Mediterranean.

(I) Toulon.

August 28th, 1793. Toulon surrendered to the Mediterranean fleet under Hood. But difficulties arose between Hood and the Spanish Admiral Langara who had joined him; the troops necessary to hold Toulon were not available; Hood failed to destroy or take away the ships of the French fleet which he had captured.

December 16th, 1793. The French retook Toulon, largely owing to Bonaparte's skilful direction of the artillery.

(II) Corsica.

August, 1794. Nelson captured Calvi, and Corsica surrendered.

(III) Admiral Hotham.

March, 1795. Hotham, through negligence, allowed the Toulon fleet to leave harbour safely and failed to

attack it in favourable conditions in July. Hotham's inefficiency facilitated the conquest of Italy by Bonaparte, which led ultimately to his absolute power.

(4) Treaty of San Ildefonso, August, 1796.

August 19th, 1796. France and Spain made a treaty of alliance which practically reneged the Family Compact of 1761 and secured for France the help of Spain, which declared war on Great Britain on October 5th.

The Spanish navy threatened the British communications.

Jervis evacuated Corfu, and the British fleet left the Mediterranean and concentrated at Gibraltar. The French fleet at Toulon was no longer watched.

(5) The Battle of St. Vincent, February, 1797.

Britain was now threatened by the French, Spanish and Dutch fleets and gravely weakened by mutinies at Spithead and the Nore.

February 16th, 1797. Largely owing to the excellent work of Nelson in the Captain, Jervis defeated the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent and thus prevented the junction of the French and Spanish fleets which were to cover an invasion of England, and encouraged the British to continue their opposition to France in spite of financial crisis, naval mutinies and the Treaty of Campo Formio.

B. The Atlantic.

(1) Ushant.

June 1st, 1794. Howe defeated the French fleet off Ushant, but failed to follow up his victory.

(2) Quiberon, June, 1795.

June 2nd, 1795. A British fleet defeated Villeneuve's forces and thus enabled the ill-fated Armada to land at Quiberon.¹

¹ Page 375.

(3) Ireland and Wales.

June, 1794. The Directory, relying on the help of Spain and Holland and freed from danger from La Vendée, proposed to land in Ireland and Wales.

December, 1794. Bad weather prevented Hocart's expedition from landing in Banty Bay.

February 26th, 1797. Subsidence of a small French force which had landed in Pembroke.

(4) Camperdown, October, 1797.

October 11th, 1797. Duncan, who with only two ships had skillfully blinded the Dutch fleet in the Texel, routed the Dutch at Camperdown and thus prevented the union of the French and Dutch fleets.

C. General.

The British had devastated the Mediterranean, but the victories at St. Vincent and Camperdown had averted possible invasion. Many British merchantmen had been captured by French privateers, 1795 to 1797. But Great Britain had gained new colonies—Trinidad in 1793; Guadaloupe and St. Lucia in 1794 from the French; Demerara in 1796 from the Dutch; Trinidad in 1797 from Spain; French maritime commerce was utterly destroyed; "grass grew in the streets of Marseilles." Marseilles was a city of the dead,¹¹ and the financial condition of France was seriously weakened by the cost of her naval operations.

III. Naval Operations from 1797-1803.

A. The Mediterranean.

Fear of the British navy made the French renounce the idea of invading England.¹²

These years saw the re-establishment of British influence in the Mediterranean.

¹¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, page 684.

¹² Page 405.

(1) The Battle of the Nile.

May, 1798. Lord St. Vincent¹ sent Nelson with a small squadron to watch the French fleet in Toulon. After it sailed from Toulon, Nelson was sent in pursuit with a fleet of thirteen ships of the line and two smaller vessels. Partly owing to Nelson's lack of frigates, he failed to catch the French fleet before it reached Egypt.

August 1st, 1798. In the Battle of the Nile, Nelson captured or destroyed thirteen out of the seventeen vessels that made up the French fleet. He then sailed India, shut up Bonaparte's army in Egypt, destroyed a third of the French navy and made Great Britain supreme in the Mediterranean. The Battle of the Nile was one of the main causes of the Second Coalition.²

November, 1798. The British cap and Minorca.

(2) Naples.

June, 1798. Nelson's fleet assisted the return to Naples of King Ferdinand IV and Queen Maria Carolina.³ Largely owing to his attitude Prince Caracciola was hanged and many insurgents, who had surrendered on promises of immunity, were arrested.

B. Ireland, 1798.

August 20th, 1798. Bligh's small force, convoyed from La Rochelle in three frigates, landed in Killala Bay to help the Irish rebels. It defeated the militia at " Castlebar Races" on August 27th, but was compelled to surrender to General Lake and Cornwallis on September 1st.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chaps. xv, xx.

¹ Jervis.

² Page 412.

³ A sister of Maria Antoinette.

THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE
DIRECTORY FROM THE TREATY OF
CAMPO FORMIO TO THE FORMATION OF
THE SECOND COALITION,
OCTOBER, 1797-JUNE, 1799

I. The Congress of Rastadt, December, 1797.

The terms of peace between France and Germany had nominally been referred by the Treaty of Campo Formio to a Congress to be held at Rastadt, although France, Germany and Austria had settled the question severely beforehand.

A. The Rhenish Provinces.

The Congress confirmed the extension of French power over the left bank of the Rhine and the cession of the Rhenish provinces to France : French troops occupied Mainz on December 23rd, and the Rhenish provinces were organized as four French departments.

Thus the Congress, which had been called "in earnest fidelity to the great principle of the unity and indivisibility of the German Empire," began by violating the integrity of the Empire.

II. Secularization of the Ecclesiastical States.

The French claimed important positions on the right bank of the Rhine and laid siege to Elberfeld-Stolzenfels.

To compensate dispossessed lay princes the Congress resolved to secularize the Ecclesiastical States. Prussia, anxious to secure Münster and knowing that these states had usually supported Austria, supported the proposal ; the Emperor, although by the secret clauses of the Treaty of Campo Formio Austria was to receive the Archdiocese of Salzburg, objected as head of the Empire and as the upholder of Catholicism.

C. France and Prussia

It soon became clear that France was hoping for an alliance with Prussia and that she would not help Austria to get Bavaria at the bid promised at Campo Formio. The quantity between Austria and Prussia was intensified, and in the struggle which followed with France Prussia remained neutral.

II. Switzerland, 1798.

On the partition of the Vendée, who received the rule of Bern, the French resolved to invade Switzerland, to establish a dependent republic and to secure the territory of Bern. Geneva, now an ally from France, justly protested against "this impious war."

March, 1798. The French, under Roux, defeated the Bernese and occupied Bern. Seizure of the treasury, plunder of the people and of religious houses; 20,000,000 francs extorted from Switzerland.

April 18th, 1798. Establishment of the Helvetic Republic with a Directory and two Consuls. The towns generally acquiesced in the new order; the Forest-Cantons resisted.

September 2d, 1798. Defeat of the men of Unterwalden at Stans.

III. Italy.

A. Rome.

The Directory wished to seize the wealth of Rome to fill their treasury. The French ambassador, Joseph Bonaparte, secretly helped the revolutionary party and strong feeling had been aroused against the Pope by the Treaty of Tolentino.¹

December 16th, 1798. The murder of General Dupont gave France an excuse for intervening.

February 19th, 1799. An assembly of the people in

¹ Page 402.

the Forum re-established the Roman Republic and elected seven consuls. General Berthier entered Rome and acknowledged the Republic; the aged Pope Pius VI was ignominiously expelled and sent to Valence; with Berthier's sanction the Vatican, churches and city were plundered. A republican constitution, similar to that of Paris but retaining old classical titles, was established.

B. Piedmont.

Although Charles Emmanuel IV had remained faithful to the Treaty of Cherasco,¹ the French determined to seize Piedmont, occupied Turin on July 3rd, 1798, and cruelly plundered the country.

December 9th, 1798. Charles Emmanuel abdicated and retired to Sardinia.

C. Naples.

Ferdinand of Naples, fearing that the victorious French would attack Naples, encouraged by the presence of Nelson, who had come to Naples after the Battle of the Nile, and had been induced by Lady Hamilton to support the King and Queen, determined to occupy Benevento and restore the Pope. The Austrian Mack commanded the Neapolitan troops.

November 29th, 1798. Ferdinand entered Rome.

December 6th-10th, 1798. Mack defeated by Championnet; rising of the Republican party in Rome; flight of Ferdinand from Rome.

December 31st, 1798. Flight of the Royal Family from Naples in Nelson's ship, the *Vanguard*.

January 23rd, 1799. In spite of the heroic resistance of the peasants and burghers of Naples, Championnet entered Naples and proclaimed the Parthenopean Republic.

D. Tuscany.

March 29th, 1799. The French occupy Tuscany and enter Florence.

¹ Page 400.

IV. The Causes of the Second Coalition.

The aggressions of France in Germany, Switzerland, Rome, Piedmont and Naples alarmed Europe and aroused strong resentment in the two capitals; but circumstances prevented France from concluding the Second Coalition until the beginning of 1799.

A. Great Britain.

In the beginning of 1798 Britain, the steady enemy of France, was weakened by financial crisis, the withdrawal of the British fleet from the Mediterranean following the union of France and Spain in 1796,¹ rebellion in Ireland and the danger of a French invasion. But Lord Malmsbury's attempt to make peace failed in December, 1796, and the detention of the Directory to capture British goods from all hands under French authority made the country resolve to continue the war.

B. Austria.

(I) Thugut determined to renew the war.

Thugut saw by the end of 1797 that France was determined to expand her territory in Germany and to prevent the Austrians from extending theirs in Italy; he resented the understanding between Prussia and France and the unwillingness of France to carry out the promise she had made at Campo Formio to allow Austria to annex part of Bavaria. He was determined to renew the war, but various causes delayed Austrian intervention.

(II) Causes of delay.

- a. May 1st, 1798. Cobenzl, less desirous of war, succeeded Thugut as Foreign Minister for a few months.
- b. October, 1798. Austria would have declared war on France owing to the invasion of Switzerland.

¹ Page 412.

but for her fear of Prussia, whose King, Frederick William III, failed to realize his duty to protect Germany and was determined to remain neutral.

- c. The Austrians received the withdrawal of the British fleet from the Mediterranean in November, 1793; and a dispute arose about the repayment of a loan made by Great Britain to Austria.

(2) Final causes of war.

The French attack on Habsburgstein ; the growing hostility of the Old Fox to France ; the determined opposition of Great Britain to France, and particularly the despatch of a British fleet to the Mediterranean in April and the Battle of the Nile on August 1st, 1798 ; the overthrow of the royal families of Ferdinand and Naples, were among the causes which led to the actual outbreak of war between Austria and France on March 1st, 1799, and the formal declaration of war by Austria on March 12th, 1799.

[April 29th, 1799. March of the French army at Rastadt.]

C. Russia.

Paul I succeeded his mother Catherine II on November 17th, 1796. Catherine had refused to go to war with Prussia, "she preoccupied herself on the Revolution, but left it to others to execute"; Paul, though opposed to the extension of Republican doctrines, which might cause trouble in Poland, hesitated to take up arms against France, and his hesitation partly accounts for the slowness of Austria, which counted on the help of Russia, in declaring war against France.

Paul was Protector of the Order of Malta and strongly resented the capture of Malta by Bonaparte. He was encouraged by the Battle of the Nile and sent a fleet to

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co-operate with the British and Portuguese in the Mediterranean ; he made an alliance with Naples and with Turkey, which desired to regain Egypt.

December 29th, 1798. By the Treaty of St. Petersberg an alliance was made between Great Britain and Russia, but Federalist William's determined neutrality prevented Prussia from joining the alliance.

D. Naples.

December 4th, 1798. France declared war on Naples.

E. Portugal.

Portugal, the traditional ally of England, joined the Coalition.

By the beginning of 1799 Pitt's policy had succeeded in forming against France the Second Coalition of Great Britain, Austria, Russia, Naples and Portugal.

References :

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. xxi.

History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons, chap. XII.

THE WAR OF THE SECOND COALITION

I. The Campaign of 1799.

At the beginning of the campaign the French army was smaller in number than the Austrian ; Bonaparte was in Egypt, and the French generals concerned found worthy opponents in the Archduke Charles and Bernadotte ; there was a lack of the strong central control which Carnot had once exercised. But the possession of Northern Italy up to the Adige and the occupation of Switzerland greatly strengthened the French position.

The French plan of campaign involved a triple attack on Austria. Jourdan, commanding the Army of the

Rhine, was to advance along the Danube and drive the Archduke Charles into Vienna; Massena, commanding the Army of Illevoia, was to expel the Austrians from the Grisons and to invade the Tyrol; Schérer, commanding the Army of Italy, was to drive the Austrians from the Adige.

A. Germany.

March 28th, 1799. The Archduke Charles routed Jourdan at Böckelach, but did not prevent him from retreating safely through the Black Forest and crossing the Rhine.

B. Italy.

(1) Magenta.

Schérer, having sent some of his troops to Tuscany, wished to attack the Austrians before the Russians arrived.

April 11th, 1799. Schérer routed by the Austrians at Magenta.

(2) Cossato.

April 27th, 1799. Suvoroff, who had reached Italy a fortnight previously, routed Moreau, who had replaced Schérer, at Cossato and entered Milan on April 29th and Turin a month later.

(3) Trebbia.

June 17th-18th, 1799. Suvoroff utterly routed Macdonald and the French army from Naples on the Trebbia. Retreat of Macdonald to Maser at Genoa.

(4) Novi.

August 15th, 1799. Joubert, who succeeded Moreau, advancing from Genoa to raise the siege of Mantua, was completely defeated and slain at Novi by Suvoroff, who was strengthened by the allied army set free by the fall of Maser which had actually surrendered on July 20th. This victory saved Piedmont from the French.

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(1) Geneva.

November 4th, 1798. The Austrians, under Mâle, defeated a new army under Chauvelin at Geneva and drove it back to France.

These victories resulted in the overthrow of the Savoyard, Roman and Parthenopean Republics and the restoration of Ferdinand to Naples.²

C. Dissension among the Allies.

Dissension among the Allies robbed them of the advantage of these victories and paralysed an invasion of France which Suvoroff strongly advocated and which might have ended the war.

(1) Austria.

The Austrians wished to secure Piedmont and Savoy; regarded the Russians as an auxiliary corps and expected Suvoroff to take orders from Vienna; they insisted on reducing all occupied fortresses before invading France.

(2) Russia.

The Czar Paul wished to overthrow the Revolution; to restore the properties the French had annexed and, in particular, to restore Charles Emmanuel to Savoy; to invade France at once.

D. The Allies' new plan of campaign.

Suvoroff was to unite with the Archduke Charles to drive Massena out of Switzerland and then to invade France; the British and Russians were to invade Holland.

Austria, fearing that the actions of the Allies in Holland might lead to the grant of land on the Lower Rhine to France, repeated her old claims to the Netherlands and weakened Suvoroff by sending the Archduke Charles to besiege Philippsburg and Mainz on the Middle Rhine, whence he could watch the progress of affairs in the Netherlands.

² Page 418 A 2.

(1) Switzerland.

September 16th, 1799. Massena crossed Kornhaubel at Zurich. Servacoff by a masterly retreat withdrew his army from Switzerland. Massena was thus enabled to threaten the flank of the Archduke Charles, who retired from the Rhine to the Danube.

(2) Holland.

August, 1799. A British force under Abercromby took Helder and the Dutch fleet in the Texel.

September 18th, 1799. An allied force of British and Russians under the Duke of York gained a success at Alkmaar, but differences between the two allies, military difficulties caused by the dykes and the incompetence of the Duke of York, who was defeated at Haarlem, caused the failure of the attempt.

October 18th, 1799. The Duke of York made the Convention of Alkmaar, gave up his prisoners and evacuated Holland.

E. General results.

(1) France.

France had maintained her position except in Italy owing to the delay of the Allies in starting the war; to the selfishness of Austria, who sought new territory in Italy, and of Russia, who wished to secure Malta and the Ionian Isles and refused to blockade Egypt, as Nelson desired; to the neutrality of Prussia.

France had lost Italy, except Genoa, which the Allies were besieging, but lost Switzerland, Holland and the left bank of the Rhine.

(2) Austria.

Austria practically held Italy, including Piedmont; serious differences had arisen with Russia.

(3) Russia.

The Czar Paul resented the way the Austrians had treated Servacoff, and the clemency of Austria to the

her Allies often to secure territory in Italy. It was angry with Great Britain, whom he blamed for the failure of the expedition to Holland.

(4) Great Britain.

The Battle of the Nile and the capture of the Dutch fleet were some compensation for the failure in Holland.

II. The Campaign of 1800.

October 9th, 1799. Bonaparte landed at Foggia.

November 9th, 1799. Coup d'Etat of Brumaire.

Bonaparte, now First Consul, took charge of foreign affairs. He won over the One-Pound by a process of Mache and directed his main efforts against Austria.

A. Marengo.

(1) Moreau in Germany.

April, 1800. Moreau crossed the Rhine, defeated Kray in five battles in the Black Forest and drove him back to Ulm. Thus Moreau prevented the Austrians from sending reinforcements to Italy.

(2) Genoa.

June 4th, 1800. Massena, after a heroic defense, surrendered to Orléans. But Massena had prevented Orléans from joining Niles and so contributed to Bonaparte's great victory.

(3) Marengo.

Bonaparte, instead of striking at Genoa, determined to enter Lombardy and attack Niles from the rear. He made a great dash across the Great St. Bernard Pass.

June 14th, 1800. The timely return of Dresden's troops enabled Bonaparte to turn impending defeat into the great victory of Marengo. By the Convention of Alessandria Niles gave up Genoa, Piedmont and the Milanese to France and retired behind the Mincio. At Marengo Bonaparte "reconquered Italy in one day."

B. Holzlinde.

(1) Treaty between Austria and Great Britain.

June 20th, 1809. Owing to the influence of Thugut Austria made a treaty with Great Britain and agreed, in return for new subsidies and part of Piedmont, to continue the war until February, 1811.

(September 6th, 1809. The British took Malta.)

(2) Holzlinde.

Moscow's operations were stopped by an armistice on July 19th, 1809. He resumed hostilities in November.

December 2nd, 1809. Massena finally routed the Austrians at Holzlinde and pushed on towards Vienna.

December 25th, 1809. To save Vienna the Emperor Francis II made an armistice with Moscow.

C. Further French successes in Italy.

November, 1809. Brune crossed the Mincio and Adige and took Verona and Trent.

December, 1809. A French army under MacDonald invaded the Tyrol and took Trent.

The combined armies of Brune and MacDonald marched towards Vienna.

III. The Isolation of Great Britain, 1809.

During 1809 Great Britain alone continued the struggle against France. Her navy caused serious trouble, especially by blockading Bona; her army defeated the French in Egypt.¹ Bonaparte, realising the importance of crippling British trade, now tried to exclude British ships from European harbours. The resignation of Pitt on March 1-2d, 1809, and of Thugut removed the most active of the war ministers.

A. The Peace of Luneville, February 9th, 1801.

(1) Terms.

Austria ceded to France all territory west of the Rhine, including Belgium and Luxembourg, and recognized the independence of the Cisalpine, Ligurian, Romanian and Helvetic Republics; the Adige was to be the boundary of French and Austrian possession in Northern Italy; the young Duke of Parma, who had married a daughter of Charles IV of Spain, was to have Tuscany, which was to become the Kingdom of Etruria; the dispossessed Duke of Tuscany and the German princes were to have such compensation in Germany as France thought necessary.

(2) Criticism.

The Treaty, in which the Diet of the Empire had no voice, broke up the Holy Roman Empire and placed the minor states of Germany at the mercy of France. Austria, which kept Venice, had sacrificed the interests of Germany. The Treaty led to the retirement of Thugut and was described as "terrible" by General

B. Spain.

March 21st, 1801. By the Treaty of Madrid Spain, which had recently invaded Portugal at Bonaparte's command, ceded Louisiana to France in return for the promise that the Duke of Parma, son-in-law of Charles IV of Spain, should become King of Etruria.

August 2nd, 1801. The Duke of Parma proclaimed King of Etruria.

C. The Treaty of Florence.

March 28th, 1801. Ferdinand IV of Naples, who had not been a party to the Peace of Luneville, made terms with France. He was allowed, owing to the intervention of the Czar Paul, to retain his throne, but ceded Elba to France and promised to allow no British ships to enter his ports.

D. The Treaty of Badajoz.

British goods exported to Portugal were carried into Spain and France.

The Prince Regent of Portugal rejected Bonaparte's demands that he should close his ports to British shipping, give special privileges to French merchants and cede territory to Spain until that country should recover Trincomalee and Minorca.

June 14th, 1801. Owing to the defeat of Portugal by Spain, the Regent, by the Treaty of Badajoz, ceded Olivenza to Spain and part of Portuguese Guiana to France, and agreed to close his ports to British shipping.

E. The Armed Neutrality of the North.

(I) Causes.

a. The right of search.

Owing to the war, the British Government had ordered the seizure of neutral vessels carrying provisions or naval stores, whatever their destination.

Old complaints as to the manner in which Great Britain had exercised the right of searching neutrals for contraband of war were repeated by the Northern Maritime Powers.

b. The Case of Pao.

Pao blamed Great Britain for the failure of the expedition to Holland; strongly resented the blockade of Malta by the British and their refusal to recognize his authority over the island; Bonaparte, whose personality made a strong impression on Pao, now released several thousand Russian prisoners and recognized Pao's claim to the guardianship of Malta. Pao, who had practically withdrawn from the Coalition, now became the friend of France.

November 7th, 1800. Pao seized all British ships in Eastern ports.

December 12th, 1800. Paul, partly at the instigation of Bonaparte, revived the Armed Neutrality of 1790,¹ and Russia, Sweden and Denmark, soon joined by Prussia, undertook to resist by force any attempt of Britain to interfere with their trade.

January 14th, 1801. An embargo was placed on all Russian, Danish and Swedish vessels in British ports.

(3) The Dissolution of the Armed Neutrality.

a. The assassination of Paul.

March 23rd, 1801. Assassination of Paul.

b. Copenhagen.

April 2nd, 1801. Nelson, who put his telescope to his blind eye and so "could not see" the signal to cease firing given by Admiral Sir Hyde Parker, destroyed the Danish fleet at Copenhagen.

c. Peace between Great Britain and Russia.

Alexander I, anxious to protect Russian commerce, made peace in June with Britain, which agreed that blockades to be regarded must be effective, and promised that flax, hemp and timber should not be regarded as contraband of war.

Thus Bonaparte's attempt to gain British trade in the Baltic had failed.

IV. The Peace of Amiens, 1802.

Both France and Britain were ready for peace. Great Britain had checked Bonaparte's designs on Ireland, Egypt and India. The British navy had been successful and commerce had increased sixty per cent since 1798. But the National Debt had doubled, wheat had risen to 150 shillings a quarter and the poor had lost ground. The

¹ Page 162.

French were disengaged by their failure in Egypt, the break up of the Armed Neutrality and the loss of colonies; there was discontent in Holland, Switzerland and Piedmont, and difficulties had arisen in Germany regarding the compensation for dispossessed Italian possessions. Nine "years of warfare had left France unequalled in Western Europe and Britain in command of every sea."¹

March 22nd, 1802. The Peace of Amiens.

A. Terms.

- (1) Great Britain should keep Ceylon and Trinidad, but restore their other colonies to France, Spain and Holland.
- (2) Malta should be restored to the Knights of St. John.
- (3) France to cede Sicily and the Papal States and to restore all its territory to Portugal.
- (4) Egypt to revert to Turkey.
- (5) The Ionian Islands were recognised as a republic.

B. Consequences.

The Peace, though generally popular, was disadvantageous for Britain, which after a costly war lasting nine years gained only Ceylon and Trinidad. "A peace which all men are glad of, but no man can be proud of" (Sheridan). But Britain welcomed the reduction of taxation which would follow the Peace, which would render unnecessary the maintenance in England of large forces to resist a possible invasion.

France was tired of war, and, although Great Britain did not formally recognise the Bavarian, Hanoverian and Cisalpine republics, her influence had been strengthened by the neutralities of Britain at her recent annexations.

But too many causes of dispute were left unsettled; the ambition of Bonaparte was sure to lead to further aggression. The Peace of Amiens proved only a truce in the struggle between Great Britain and France.

¹ P. 28.

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References :

Revolutionary Europe (Maurice Stephans), chap. vi.

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. xii; Vol. IX
chaps. ii, iii.

History of the French Revolution (Mignet), G. Bell and Sons,
chap. xxv.

Life of Napoleon I (Ross), G. Bell and Sons.

THE RESULTS OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

The results of the French Revolution were so important that the Revolution is rightly regarded as the most important event in the history of Modern Europe.

I. The Assertion of Nationality.

The principle of Nationality involved the idea that states used their unity not to subjugate to their ruler, but to community of blood, language, tradition and aspirations.

A. France.

In France prior to the Revolution the loyalty of the nobles and the law, the people felt for the King had taken the place of patriotism.² The Revolution substituted the idea of the French nation for that of the French kingdom. The Flight to Varennes in June, 1791, showed that the interests of the King and nation were not identical and led to the rise of the Republican party; the declaration of the Assembly on June 11th, 1790, that "the Fatherland is in danger" led to an outbreak of national feeling which inspired France to resist her enemies. The feeling was strengthened by the abolition of the provinces and by the establishment of a uniform code of laws.

² Léviathan.

B. Other nations.

The aggression of France provoked a feeling of nationality in other countries. In Italy resentment against the tyranny of Napoleon started the idea of Italian unity and independence at the Congress of Modena in October, 1796. National feeling prompted the Spaniards, Portuguese and, in 1812, Russians to oppose Napoleon and supplied the inspiration for the revival of Prussia. Spain showed that "a whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies."

C. Reaction.

The Congress of Vienna was marked by a reaction against nationality,¹ and the Holy Alliance, by asserting the common interests of the monarchs concerned, advocated the contrary principle of "internationality."² The history of Europe in the nineteenth century is largely a history of national development, particularly in Italy, but within recent years the question has been affected by the development of Pan-Germanism and Pan-Slavism and by the idea that the interests of labour may be international and not purely national.

II. The Sovereignty of the People.

The Declaration of Rights asserted "that the principle of all sovereignty resides in the people" and "the law is the expression of the general will."

A. Reform by the People.

The need of improving the condition of the people had been recognized in Europe before the Revolution. Benevolent despots like Catherine of Russia and the Emperor Joseph II had tried to rule for the benefit of their subjects; even Spain had limited the power of the Inquisition, and Naples had tried to establish a

¹ Page 422.

² Lecture.

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system of popular education. The Revolution asserted that the people should rule themselves and that government should be not only "for the people," but "by the people."

B. The new Idea of Sovereignty.

This new principle involved the idea that sovereignty is not a property of which the *state* enjoys the profit, but a *magnitude* established for the performance of certain duties.

C. The French Middle Class.

The assertion of the doctrine of the Sovereignty of the People was rendered possible in France by the existence of a prosperous and intelligent middle class who were greatly interested in the teaching of the Philosophers and strongly influenced by the popular government of England and America.

D. Reaction.

In France the Revolution had swept away the old abuses and laid the foundation of a sound social system. It had not given the people the power of self-government, and it led immediately to the absolute rule of Napoleon.

The reaction against the Revolution retarded the reformation of the English Parliament, made Pitt a Tory and led to Bishop Burney's assertion that the people had nothing to do with the laws except to obey them. In some states, particularly in Austria and Naples, the reaction was more marked than in England.

But the movement was only checked and not stopped, and it ultimately resulted in the development of parliamentary and local government, particularly in England and France.

III. The Assertion of Individual Liberty.

The Revolution asserted that all men are equal before the law and swept away the old privileges, rigid class distinctions and religious disabilities which had limited the freedom of the individual. Serfdom, old feudal restrictions and the limitations imposed by the guilds were abolished; religious toleration was assured, even for Jews; the freedom of the press was established and the right of the individual to education was maintained. In her *Vindication of the Rights of Women*, 1792, Mary Wollstonecraft asserted that women should enjoy equal rights with men.

The Assertion of Individual Liberty was the leading principle of the Liberals of the nineteenth century.

IV. Other Effects.

A. Humanitarianism.

The opposition to the slave trade and the attempts to reform the conditions of prisons and to improve the condition of the people illustrates the stimulus given to humanitarianism by the Revolution.

B. The Romantic Revival.

The Revolution helped the Romantic Revival by the assertion of individualism, the defiance of tradition and the "establishment of human life on a basis of pure feeling." Wordsworth's *Prelude*, Scott's *Jane of Ara*, Coleridge's earlier works, Shelley's *Musn of Anarchy*, Goethe's *Faust*, Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables* are much to the principles of the Revolution.

C. The revival of Papal authority.

Largely owing to the fortitude of Pius VII the influence of the Roman Catholic Church was strengthened. Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* asserted the cause of Christianity against atheism; de Maistre's *De Pope* vindicated the authority of the Pope.

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D. Socialists.

Attacks on property, and particularly the confiscation of the estates of the French Royalists, weakened the idea that property was sacred; "Socialism ceased to be merely a speculative doctrine and became a political programme."

Reference:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. XXV.

THE THIRD COALITION

1. The Settlement of Germany.

The Treaty of L'Intrie had provided that the settlement of Germany was to be made "in conjunction with the French Government."

France used her victory over Austria to secure such a reorganization of Germany as would further strengthen French influence. The lesser princes looked to her for support against Austria; Prussia remained neutral. The policy of France was facilitated by the continued rivalry between Prussia and Austria, the enmity between Bavaria and Austria, the desire of the lay princes to secure ecclesiastical territory and the still lack of national feeling in Germany.

Alexander of Russia, anxious to promote the interests of his relatives the Princes of Hesse-Cassel, Baden and Württemberg, made an alliance with France on October 11th, 1806, and thus prevented the effective resistance of Austria to Bonaparte's plans. The settlement of Germany was practically made during May and June, 1806, by secret negotiations carried on in Paris between France, Prussia, Russia, Baden and Württemberg.

A. The Diet of Ratisbon.

February 25th, 1806. The Diet of Ratisbon accepted the French plan for the reorganization of Germany. That reorganization was profoundly affected by the secularization of the Ecclesiastical States and the abolition of most of the Free Cities.

(1) Constitutional changes.

Hitherto the Diet had consisted of the three Colleges

of Electors, Princes and Free Cities; the administration had been carried out by ten Circles; the Imperial Chamber had been the ultimate Court of Justice.

a. The College of Electors.

The College was to consist of nine lay and one ecclesiastical elector, the Archbishop of Mainz, instead of three ecclesiastical and five lay electors, as formerly. The lay electors were those of Bohemia, Brandenburg, Saxony, Bavaria and Hanover, and four new ones, Baden, Württemberg, Hesse-Cassel and Salzburg. The last was given to the Emperor's brother Ferdinand, who had been forced to give up Tuscany.²

b. The College of Princes.

The College of Princes became a purely lay assembly.

c. The College of Free Cities.

Forty-two Free Cities were abolished; only Augsburg, Bremen, Frankfurt, Hamburg, Lübeck and Nuremberg retained their old status, and the College of Free Cities disappeared.

(2) Territorial readjustments.

a. Prussia.

Prussia received, in exchange for Cleves and other territory on the west bank of the Rhine, the bishoprics of Münster, Paderborn and Halberstadt; several abbeys, including Quedlinburg and Riesa, and some free cities. She encroached forty-eight square miles and received two hundred and twenty-one with a population of half a million.

b. Hanover.

Hanover received the Bishopric of Osnabrück.

² Page 428.

c. Bavaria.

Bavaria received, in exchange for the Palatinate and Zweibrücken, the bishoprics of Würzburg, Bamberg, Augsburg, Freisingen; Juliers, Simmern and Lorrain and many abbeys and free cities. Bavaria gave up two hundred and twenty square miles and received two hundred and sixty-eight.

d. Baden.

Baden received three parts of the bishoprics of Spire, Strasburg and Basle which lay on the right bank of the Rhine; the bishopric of Constance; the towns of Heidelberg and Neckarheim and many abbeys and free cities. The Prince of Baden received six times as much territory as he surrendered, and his revenues were doubled.

e. Württemberg.

Württemberg gave up Hohenzollern, but received compensation which added a hundred thousand to its population.

f. The Prince of Orange and the Italian Dukes.

The Prince of Orange, who renounced his claim to the Stadtkämmerer of Hailead, received the bishoprics of Fulda and Guray and the town of Dordrecht.

The Duke of Parma received the archbishopric of Salzburg.

The Duke of Modena received the Brugge.

E. Criticism.

(I) Austria.

The influence of Austria, which received only the bishoprics of Trent and Brixen, was greatly weakened by the suppression of the Ecclesiastical States, which had tended to support her as the champion of Catholicism; by the establishment of a Protestant majority

of twenty votes in the Diet; by the practical overthrow of the Holy Roman Empire, which was consummated by Francis II on August 6th, 1806.

(2) Prussia.

Prussia became much more powerful. But her attempt to extend her authority in the South of Germany was frustrated by Bonaparte; she remained the leading state in the North, but did not seize the leadership of Germany, which Austria had vainly tried to assume.

(3) Germany.

The chief lay princes were greatly strengthened and Germany profited much by the change which substituted for the inefficient government of the Ecclesiastical States and Free Cities a more orderly system of taxation, police and justice.

The dispossession of the lesser princes added materially to the concentration of Germany, and "another stage on the road towards a united Germany was accomplished."

"The symbol of it all was that the Germany of the Middle Ages, with its Ecclesiastical States, its orders of Knighthood and the preponderance of the Hapsburgs, vanished, never to return."¹

(4) France.

The territorial compensation necessitated by the extinction of France to the Rhine was carried into effect. French influence was greatly strengthened in Germany, and Bonaparte became the patron of the princes. But ultimately the new system proved "most prejudicial to France; for instead of there existing a series of buffers in the shape of small and weak states, France was brought almost directly into contact with Prussia and Austria."²

¹ Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, page 84.

² Mass Stephens, page 227.

U. Continued Aggression of Bonaparte.

By the Peace of Luneville the independence of the Cisalpine, Batavian and Helvetic Republics had been recognised; Bonaparte promised the Czar Alexander that Pomerania should be restored to the House of Hanover. He now broke all these undertakings.

A. Holland.

September, 1800. The Batavian Republic received a new constitution which practically made it subject to France.

B. The Cisalpine Republic.

January, 1802. Bonaparte became President of the Cisalpine Republic and thus master of Lombardy. The Republic henceforth was called the Italian Republic.

C. Genoa, Elba, Piedmont, Parma.

June 28th, 1802, the reorganisation of the Government of Genoa made the city subservient to Bonaparte.

August 28th, 1802. Bonaparte annexed Elba.

September 21st, 1802. Bonaparte incorporated Piedmont in the French Republic.

October 9th, 1802. On the death of Duke Louis, King of Etruria, Bonaparte took possession of Parma.

D. Switzerland.

Civil war broke out between the towns and the Forest Cantons, supported by Bern. Bonaparte intervened as "Mediator of the Helvetic League," and in February, 1803, established a new constitution which weakened the federal government, gave considerable authority to each of the nineteen cantons and ensured the supremacy of France.

E. Colonial policy.

Knowing that war was sure to break out soon with Great Britain, Bonaparte strengthened his navy and endeavoured to add to the French colonial empire.

(1) San Domingo.

May, 1803. British recovered San Domingo from Toussaint L'Overture.

(2) Egypt.

Napoleon sent Sebastiani to investigate the possibility of French intervention in the Levant.

January 30th, 1803. Sebastiani's report, which appeared in the *Moscow*, urged the French to reconquer Egypt.

III. Causes of the War between France and Great Britain.

War was inevitable. "We now see that national equality, fostered by the press on both sides, rendered friendly relations impossible, and that, even had Bonaparte been willing to refrain from aggressions, peace was impossible."¹

A. British complaints.

Napoleon's aggressive policy and his election on August 2nd, 1802, as First Consul for life, aroused grave suspicions that the power he had gained would be used against Great Britain. Definite complaints were made of:

- (1) Bonaparte's attempt in 1803 to stir up discontent in Ireland.
- (2) His refusal to make a commercial treaty with Great Britain, and the restrictions he imposed on British trade in Spain, Holland and Italy.
- (3) The virulent attacks made on British statesmen in the *Moscow*.
- (4) The presence of French spies in British ports.

B. Bonaparte's complaints.

Bonaparte's attitude is partly explained by the

¹ Political History of England. (Bodleian) Longman, page 12.

contempt he felt for the weakness of Addington who had succeeded Pitt as Prime Minister on March 1st, 1801. He complained that

- (1) Great Britain had violated the Peace of Amiens.
- (2) By failing to surrender Alexandria and the French towns in India. This complaint was just.
- (3) By refusing to surrender Malta.'

Bonaparte specially complained of the refusal of the British to surrender Malta, and, in his famous interview with Whitworth, the British Ambassador, on March 13th, 1803, asserted, "The English are bent on war . . . they do not respect treaties."

Technically Great Britain could plead that the refusal of the Czar Alexander to recognize the independence of Malta justified her retention of the island. Practically Malta was kept as a means of guarding against Bonaparte's advances to the Levant and Egypt, and as a compensation for the recent additions to French territory.

- (1) Great Britain had sheltered French agents.
- (2) The English newspapers had attacked Bonaparte who was particularly annoyed at the virulence with which Jean Politier, an agent, attacked him in *L'Ami du Peuple* published in London.

February, 1803. Politier, convicted on the suit of the French ambassador of gross libel on Bonaparte, was sentenced by the Court of King's Bench only to pay a small fine—which was defrayed by public subscription.

C. Great Britain declares war.

Bonaparte refused a British ultimatum demanding that the French should evacuate Holland and Switzerland, indemnify the King of Sardinia and allow Great Britain to hold Malta for ten years.

May 19th, 1803. Great Britain declared war on France. Bonaparte imprisoned all British subjects in France.

Great Britain had no allies. Prussia remained strictly neutral; Austria was exhausted; Holland was subject to France; the Czar Alexander was friendly to Bonaparte although aware that Russia trade depended largely upon the connection with Britain. Spain had strongly resented the sale by Bonaparte to the United States of Louisiana, over which she had a right of pre-emption, but made an agreement on October 19th, 1802, by which, while refraining from actual warfare, she paid France six million francs a month during the war. Lack of continental allies made the British limit their operations to the defense of England, the seizure of colonies and the blockade of French ports.

The two previous wars had been waged to overthrow the Republic and to restore the Monarchy in France. Great Britain was now fighting not only for herself but for Europe, for Bonaparte now aimed at subjugating Europe to France and at crushing nationality.

D. Early operations.

The strong feeling in favor of the war led to the enrollment of 200,000 volunteers in England in three months.

(1) The Colonies.

1803. The British took St. Lucia and Tobago in June; Ceylon, from the Dutch, in September.

1803. Wellesley defeated the Mahrattas at Assaye on September 18th and Arcot on November 19th and thus prevented successful French invasions in India.

(2) Ireland.

July, 1803. Suppression of Emmett's rebellion, instigated by French agents.

(2) The "Army of England," 1804.

Bonaparte established an army of 250,000 men at Boulogne, intending to carry them to England in a fleet of transports under the cover of Villeneuve's fleet. The scheme was bound to fail. Bonaparte underestimated the power of Great Britain; the conjunction of wind and tide necessary for successful transport was most improbable; the British navy, severely strengthened, proved ice strong and, even if great good fortune had enabled French forces to "force the wet ditch of the Channel," it would have cut off their retreat.

(4) Hanover.

Bonaparte resolved to seize Hanover, which belonged to the British Crown, partly to force Prussia into alliance, partly for the plunder it would supply, partly as a means of bargaining with Great Britain when peace was made. Prussia, the leader of Northern Germany, ought to have resisted the occupation of Hanover as it was a breach of the neutrality of the North German states which had been guaranteed by the Treaty of Tilsit.¹ But Frederick William III refused to seize Hanover, as Hanegeit recommended, and failed to avert the French invasion by diplomacy.

May, 1803. The French, under Soult, entered Hanover. They held it for two years. French oppression aroused strong resentment in Hanover.

(5) The Elbe.

The French seized Cuxhaven to stop British trade. The British therefore blockaded the mouths of the Elbe and Weser and did much harm to German, and especially Prussian, trade.

The failure of Prussia to stop these operations showed that her persistent neutrality could not avert injury.

¹ Page 290.

(6) Naples.

1803. Bonaparte seized Naples in order to keep British shipping out of Neapolitan ports.

(7) Spain.

December 12th, 1804. Spain declared war on Great Britain, which had seized Spanish treasure ships to seize debts due to English merchants.

IV. The Formation of the Third Coalition.

A. The Execution of the Due d'Enghien, March, 1804.

February, 1804. Failure of a plot made by the Count Georges Couthard and General Pichot to murder Bonaparte and capture the Comte d'Artois.¹

March 21st, 1804. Execution at Paris on a false charge of complicity in Pichot's plot of the Due d'Enghien, who had been kidnapped by French soldiers in the neutral territory of Baden. One of Bonaparte's greatest political mistakes.

[May 18th, 1804. Bonaparte assumed the title of Emperor of the French—Napoleon I.]

August, 1804. Francis II² proclaimed himself Emperor of Austria.]

B. Pitt joins the Third Coalition.

Pitt replaced Addington as Prime Minister on May 10th, 1804. His aim of uniting Europe against France was facilitated by the horror caused by the murder of the Due d'Enghien. Pitt wished to compel Russia to surrender the countries she had conquered, to form barrier states to prevent future aggression by France, to summon a European congress to ensure peace and security for the future.

(1) Russia.

Alexander I viewed with strong disapprobation the governing power and aggressive policy of Napoleon. He protested against the occupation of Hanover, the

¹ Page 279.

² Charles X, 1824-1830.

* As Holy Roman Emperor he was Francis II, or Emperor of Austria Francis I.

death of the Due d'Enghien whom he declared to have "been cruelly murdered by the German troops," and the violation of the territory of Baden.

September, 1804. Alexander broke off diplomatic negotiations with France, but difficulties arising owing to the British retention of Malta hampered his negotiations with Pitt.

April 11th, 1804. A Treaty of Alliance was made at St. Petersburg between Great Britain and Russia to compel the French to withdraw from Hanover, North Germany and Italy; to ensure the independence of Holland, Switzerland and Naples; to restore the King of Sardinia to Piedmont and to raise an army of half a million men to oppose France. Britain agreed to subsidize the other members of the League.

(1) Austria.

November 6th, 1804. Francis made a secret treaty with Alexander arranging for armed resistance to any further aggression by France in Italy. But the Austrian army was disorganized, the country suffered from ineffective administration and bad trade, and Francis was unwilling to go to war with France. He acquiesced in the assumption of the Imperial Crown by Napoleon, but resisted his attempt to crown himself King of Italy on May 26th, 1805. The immediate cause of the addition of Austria to the Coalition was the invasion of Genoa and the Ligurian Republic in French territory on June 3rd, 1805, contrary to the Treaty of Lantville.

August 24th, 1805. Austria secretly joined the Coalition on promise of a subsidy of £2,000,000 from Great Britain.

(2) Sweden and Naples.

Sweden joined the Coalition, but Pitt's efforts to secure the adhesion of Naples were failed by Napoleon who compelled Naples, in July, 1805, to form a new treaty with France.

(i) Prussia.

Recent events in Hanover and all the Elbe made Frederick William III open negotiations for a closer understanding with Russia. Napoleon, anxious to secure the assistance of Prussia, offered Hanover to Frederick William if he would join France. But he finally concluded to remain neutral, and the neutrality of Prussia formed one of the reasons for the downfall of Austria and the failure of the Coalition.

V. The War to the Peace of Tilsit, December, 1804.

A. Trafalgar.

1804. The blockade of Villeneuve's fleet at Toulon by Nelson, and of Guadeloupe's West fleet by Collingwood prevented the French from conveying transports from Bologna to England.

July 22nd, 1805. Villeneuve, who had sailed to the West Indies followed by Nelson, evaded Nelson and returned, but was defeated off Buxentus by Collingwood. Instead of joining the Brest fleet, as Napoleon ordered, he put into Cadiz to refit, thus giving time for Nelson to return.

October 21st, 1805. Nelson utterly routed the combined French and Spanish ships under Villeneuve at Trafalgar, but was killed in the action. The battle saved England from invasion, annihilated the French fleet and gave Britain the command of the sea. It was one of the crises of the Continental System,¹ for Napoleon henceforth could directly injure Great Britain only by extending her commerce from European ports. "Trafalgar forced Napoleon to impose his yoke on all Europe, or to abandon the hope of conquering Great Britain."²

B. Plan of campaign on the Continent.

An Austrian army, under the Archduke Charles, was to invade Lombardy; another under Mack was to unite

¹ Page 452.² Pyth, page 186.

with the Russians to Posenia and invade France; British, Swedish and Prussian forces were to co-operate in Flanders; British, Neapolitan and Russian forces were to occupy Southern Italy.

Bavaria, which signed a treaty with Napoleon on August 3rd, 1805, Württemberg, Baden and Hesse-Darmstadt supported Napoleon.

C. The Overthrow of Austria.

(1) The Grande Armée.

September 1st, 1805. To meet the danger from Austria, Napoleon broke up the armed camp at Boulogne and despatched to Germany the Army of England, which had been brought to a high state of efficiency. The troops marched two hundred miles in a fortnight.

September 16th, 1805. Ney crossed the Rhine.

(2) Ulm, October, 1805.

September 9th, 1805. Mack entered Bavaria, and the Elector and his army fled to the French invaders. Instead of awaiting the arrival of the Russians Mack advanced westward and took up his position near Ulm.

Mack, who neglected the opportunity of escaping into Bohemia and the Tyrol, was gradually surrounded by the forces of France and her German allies, which, after violating the neutrality of Prussia by marching through Anspach, reached the Danube and cut him off from Vienna.

October 14th, 1805. At Hohenlinden Ney defeated Mack who was trying to break through into Bavaria.

October 20th, 1805. Successor of Mack and 25,000 men to Napoleon at Ulm.

[October 21st. Trichtiger.]

November 13th, 1805. Napoleon entered Vienna.

(II) Austerlitz, December, 1805.

a. Difficult position of Napoleon.

The defeat of the Allies at Ulm compelled the Russian advance guard, under Wittgenstein, to fall back into Moscow, where it received strong reinforcements. The Archduke Charles was returning from Italy, where he had defeated Massena at Caldiero on November 29th; the Archduke John was coming back from the Tyrol; Prussia was preparing to attack the French; Napoleon's lines of communication were very long and difficult to guard; his soldiers were anxious to return to France, where conscription had caused discontent. The Allies should have waited, but, largely owing to the impatience of the Czar Alexander, they determined to attack, and Napoleon's diplomacy prevented Prussia from intervening.

December 2nd, 1805. Napoleon routed Alexander and Francis II at Austerlitz. Austerlitz, "the battle of the three Emperors," was Napoleon's military masterpiece.

b. The effects.

Prussia, which would have joined the Coalition if Napoleon had been defeated, was compelled to make the Treaty of Schlobberhausen on December 14th, 1805, by which she received Hanover, ceded to France Cleves and Neuchâtel, and to Bavaria Aschaff.

Although the Archduke Charles had a large army in Hungary, Austria, which had lost two armies and her capital, made an armistice with Napoleon on December 4th, 1805.

The Russians withdrew to Russia, unassisted by the French.

The news of Austerlitz led the Russians,

British and Sweden to withdraw from Pomerania, and the British and Russians from Naples. Ferdinand fled to Sicily where he was protected by the British fleet. Austria had made Napoleon's supremacy in Italy and Southern Germany:

January 23rd, 1806. "Austerlitz killed France."

(ii) The Peace of Pressburg, December, 1805.

(a) Terms.

December 26th, 1805. By the Peace of Pressburg, Austria

(i) Ceded Tuscany to Napoleon's Kingdom of Italy;

(ii) Recognised the Electors of Württemberg and Bavaria as independent Kings, and the Elector of Baden as Grand Duke.

(iii) Gave the Tyrol to Bavaria. The old Hapsburg territory in Styria was divided between Baden and Württemberg.

b. Criticism.

Austria was bitterly humiliated. She lost all her possessions in Italy and was cut off from the Italian passes; the Emperor lost three million subjects and a sixth of his revenue, and was deeply grieved at the loss of so much of his ancestral territory. The diversity of Germany was aggravated. The Holy Roman Empire received its last blow and was abolished on August 6th, 1806.

VI. The Settlement of Europe.

By the end of 1805 Napoleon was master of territory bounded on the East by the Rhine and on the South by the Straits of Messina. He now tried to secure the

position formerly held by Charlemagne as Emperor of the West, and "began to treat the government of the different countries of Western Europe as a function to be exercised by himself."¹

He gave kingdoms and principalities to his relatives and supporters, but retained their feudal services and requiring them to supply contingents for the French army.

I. Naples.

(1) The deposition of Ferdinand IV.

In spite of the treaty he had made with Napoleon in July, 1806,² Ferdinand IV had joined the Coalition and admitted British and Russian troops to Naples.

December 27th, 1808. Napoleon deposed Ferdinand. Ferdinand fled to Sicily—which the British navy saved from Napoleon—"a thread of sea two miles broad was sufficient barrier against the Power which had subduced half the Continent."

Queen Caroline crossed the kingdom to resistance, the peasants and brigands, led by "Pio Diavolo," rose, the Prince Royal held out in Calabria.

(2) Maida.

July 4th, 1806. A British army, under Stuart, sent to Calabria, defeated the French at Maida, but soon withdrew. The French occupied Southern Italy.

(3) March 26th, 1808. Napoleon made his brother Joseph King of Naples.

B. Holland.

June 5th, 1808. Napoleon made his brother Louis, the husband of Hortense Beauharnais, King of Holland.

C. The Confederation of the Rhine, 1808.

(1) Dissolution of Germany.

Germany was not a nation. The Holy Roman

¹ Pytl.

² Page 447.

Empire, which had formed a gradually weakening bond of union during the Middle Ages, had been impaired by the Reformation; neither Austria, whose interests did not coincide with those of Germany, nor Prussia, owing to the tyranny and inflexibility of the military system of Frederick the Great, supplied a bond of union, and the disunity of Germany had been shown clearly at the Peace of Paris.

(2) The Confederation.

a. The leading members.

July 22nd, 1806. Napoleon, who was named Protector of the Confederation, organized "the Confederate States of the Rhine," the leading members of which were the Kings of Bavaria and Württemberg, the Grand Duke of Baden, and the Landgrave of Hesse.

b. The mediatised states.

Other nobles, hitherto regarded as tenants-in-chief or immediate subjects of the Empire, were now "mediatised," i.e. they passed under the authority of the Prince in whose states their lands were situated.

c. Alliance with France.

The Confederation declared itself separated from the Empire, made an alliance for mutual defence with France and agreed to supply 65,000 men to serve in the French armies.

d. Results.

The division of Germany was emphasized; the Holy Roman Empire, which had long been nothing but a name, was legally abolished by France on August 4th, 1806; the influence of France in Germany was strengthened; Prussia and Austria were excluded from the Confederation.

D. Other territorial arrangements and family marriage.

Napoleon now rewarded his faithful servants by grants of titles and territory.

(1) Princes.

Berthier was made Prince of Neuchâtel, Talleyrand of Baccarat, Bernadotte of Porto Covo. Pauline Bonaparte, Princess Borghese, became Princess of Esslinga.

(2) Dukes.

Napoleon created twenty dukedoms in Italy, twelve in Venice. Scott became Duke of Dalmatia, Lester of Treviso, McDonald of Tuscany, Pouchot of Otranto.

Murat, who had married Caroline Bonaparte, became Grand Duke of Berg.

(3) Marriage.

Napoleon's stepson, Eugène Beauharnais, was married to Augusta of Bavaria; his brother Jerome was forced to repudiate his American wife, Miss Patterson of Baltimore, and to marry Catherine of Württemberg.

VII. The Overthrow of Prussia.

The new settlement led to better government both in Italy and Germany. It might have continued for a considerable time if Napoleon had not attacked Prussia, endeavored to injure British Commerce through the Continental System, and aroused Spanish national feeling.

A. Causes of War.

Since the Treaty of Basle in 1798 Prussia had steadily maintained a policy of neutrality with France. But the traditions of Frederick the Great were not forgotten, Queen Louise led a strong war party in Berlin, and Napoleon's treatment of Prussia made war inevitable.

- (1) Frederick William III was irritated by Bernadotte's march through the Prussian territory of Anspach,¹ but Napoleon's victory at Austerlitz compelled him to accept the Treaty of Schönbrunn which aroused great resentment in Berlin.
- (2) Blücher, Grand Duke of Berg, had seized Prussian territory at Verdun and Raesn. French troops massed in Berg threatened Western Prussia.
- (3) Napoleon had suggested that Prussia should form a North German Confederacy and then prevented her from carrying out the plan.
- (4) Napoleon induced Frederick William to accept Hanover and thus involved him in a quarrel with Great Britain. In July, 1806, Napoleon, who was negotiating with Fox for peace with Great Britain, agreed, without the knowledge of Prussia, to restore Hanover to George III. The discovery of this treachery by Lobeckholtz, the Prussian ambassador at Paris, was the immediate cause of war.

B. The position of Prussia.

(1) Political.

Political action was hampered by the gross indecisiveness of Ministers, especially Haugwitz, and by the existence of a Royal Council independent of the Ministers. Staats's suggestion that a responsible Cabinet should be established, and Haugwitz dismissed was rejected by Frederick William III.

(2) Military.

The incapacity of Frederick the Great was for the inefficient but courageous Prussian army a reputation it did not deserve. His generals were too old, knew nothing of recent developments in tactics, and were soon to show that they "knew only how to

captivate"; the younger officers were utterly disloyal; the common soldiers were easily won whom brutal punishment induced to desert whenever possible.

(D) Allies.

In the early summer of 1806 Prussia was isolated. Great Britain rejected her acceptance of Hanover from Napoleon; Alexander was negotiating with Napoleon; Austria was too weak to help; Napoleon held Southern and Western Germany.

[August 20th, 1806, Palm, a bookseller of Nuremberg, was shot for selling a pamphlet on "Germany in Its Deep Humiliation."]

(e) Russia.

September, 1806. Alexander, irritated by the failure of his negotiations with Napoleon, promised to help Prussia against France.

(f) Great Britain.

Great Britain promised help.

(g) Sweden.

Sweden agreed to assist Prussia.

But Russia was too far away to send early help, Great Britain moved slowly, Sweden could do little.

C. War.

September 28th, 1806. Prussia sent an ultimatum demanding the immediate withdrawal of French armies across the Rhine and Napoleon's assent to the North German Confederacy.

October 6th, 1806. On Napoleon's refusal to accept the ultimatum Prussia declared war.

Napoleon had kept the Grande Armée in Germany and concentrated it on the Main. He determined to strike at Berlin before Prussia could get help from

Britain or Russia. The indecision of Brunswick, the Prussian commander-in-chief, and his differences with Hohenlohe seriously weakened the Prussian army.

October 10th. Lannes defeated Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia, who was killed, at Saalfeld.

(1) Jena and Auerstedt, October, 1806.

Brunswick rejected Schwarzenberg's advice to hold the line of the Saale, and, learning that the French had seized Saarburg and so cut the communication between the Prussian army and Berlin, fell back to Auerstedt.

October 14th, 1806. Davout routed Brunswick at Auerstedt.

October 16th, 1806. Napoleon routed Hohenlohe's army at Jena.

October 17th, 1806. The French entered Berlin.

October 18th, 1806. Submission of Hohenlohe with 10,000 survivors.

[November 1st, 1806. Napoleon issued the Berlin decree.]

(2) The surrender of Prussian fortresses.

The commissioners of the fortresses, which might have checked the French advance, shamefully surrendered, before November 9th, Spandau, Stettin, Küstrin and Magdeburg.

November 11th, 1806. Lübeck, which Hitler gallantly defended, was stormed by the French.

(3) Bapaume.

Napoleon considered that his victory at Jena had "avenged the defeat of Rossbach."¹

Prussia was utterly broken. Napoleon, who after Jena had demanded the cession of all Prussian territory west of the Elbe demanded, after the ignominious surrender of the fortresses, that the French should occupy all Prussian territory up to

¹ Page 128.

the Vieula, and that all unoccupied fortresses should be surrendered. Frederick William III refused these terms and fell back into East Prussia, where he hoped to secure the help of Russia.

The Elector of Saxony, who had negotiated with Prussia, now submitted to Napoleon, was made King of Saxony, and joined the Confederacy of the Rhine.

Schlegel, whose double diplomacy had contributed to the defeat of Prussia, now resigned. Stein became Minister of Finance, but Frederick William soon dismissed him for demanding that ministers should be admitted to the Royal Council.

VIII. The Peace of Tilsit, 1807.

A. The War with Russia.

Napoleon deceived the Poles into the belief that he was going to restore the independence of Poland, and secured a large number of Polish recruits. Napoleon now entered East Prussia; besieged Danzig, which held out until May 30th, 1807, and Kolberg, which successfully resisted under Ossianen. He entered Poland and occupied Warsaw on December 12th, 1806.

(i) Ryria, February, 1807.

February 9th, 1807. Desaix fought with Napoleon the drawn battle of Ryria in which both sides lost heavily. The Russians retired, but the loss of 35,000 veterans of the Grande Armée was a serious blow to France.

(ii) The Treaty of Bartholomew, April, 1807.

April 26th, 1807. By the Treaty of Bartholomew, Russia, Prussia, and later Sweden and Great Britain, undertook to continue the war. But Prussia was too weak to do much; Britain had been using her forces to defend her own interests in Egypt and South America, and although Canning decided to send no

expedition to the Baltic he was unable to despatch it immediately; Austria remained neutral. Napoleon, therefore, concentrated on Russia.

(1) Friedland, June, 1807.

June 14th, 1807. Napoleon visited Beaulieu at Friedland, drove him across the Niemen and entered Königsberg.

B. The Peace of Tilsit.

Russia could easily have continued the war. But Beaulieu was disengaged by his defeat; the Russians were tired of war and unwilling to fight to defend Western Europe against Napoleon, while Austria was neutral and Great Britain dilatory; Alexander resented the refusal of Great Britain to grant him a large subsidy and knew that Canning did not favor his designs against Turkey.

June 26th, 1807. Napoleon and Alexander met on a raft in the Niemen.

July 9th, 1807. The Treaty of Tilsit was signed.

(1) Terms.

- a. Prussia lost her territory west of the Elbe, which was to be constituted in a new Kingdom of Westphalia of which Napoleon made his brother Jerome king; that part of Poland she had recently gained, most of which was included in the new Grand Duchy of Warsaw which Napoleon gave to the King of Saxony; and the southern district of West Prussia.
- b. Russia ceded to France the Iordan Isles and the district of Cattaro in Dalmatia; received Döbelnbeck in Poland.
- c. Alexander promised to mediate between France and Great Britain, and recognized the subject states Napoleon had made in Italy, Holland and Germany.

- d. Danzig was to remain a free port.
- e. Napoleon promised not to restore the independence of Poland.
- f. Prussian ports were closed to British commerce.

(2) Secret Treaty.

- a. Napoleon urged Alexander to take Finland from Sweden, and Moldavia and Wallachia from Turkey, and promised French help against the Danubian Principalities.
- b. If Great Britain refused his mediation, Alexander undertook to support Napoleon against her, and to force Denmark, Sweden and Portugal to make war against her.

(3) Criticism.

The Treaty of Tilsit marks the zenith of Napoleon's power.

Russia and France had practically divided Europe between them, except Austria; Russia became a second-rate power; Great Britain remained the only enemy of France, and to weaken her Napoleon developed further the Continental System. Napoleon had vanquished the kings of Europe, he was soon to face national opposition, due largely to the development of the Continental System.

To secure the territorial expansion of Russia Alexander sacrificed his ally Prussia, for whom he could probably have obtained much easier terms. His alliance with Napoleon was condemned by a strong "English" party led by the Empress Dowager at St. Petersburg.

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NAPOLEON BONAPARTE AND FRANCE

I. The Establishment of Despotism.

A. The Constitution of the Year VIII. The Consuls.

December 24th, 1799. Proclamation of the Constitution of the Year VIII.

(1) The Executive.

Three Consuls were appointed for ten years and were re-eligible. The First Consul had practically absolute power, he alone could promulgate laws and appoint and dismiss all officials, civil and military, both in Paris and the provinces. The Second and Third Consuls had only a "consultative voice." The Consuls were not responsible to any other part of the Constitution.

Bonaparte was appointed First Consul and immediately consolidated his power by dismissing his colleagues Dugrand and Duroc, and appointing, as Second and Third Consuls, Cambacérès and Le Brun, who were not strong enough to oppose him.

(2) The assemblies.

a. The Council of State.

The Council of State, upon which Bonaparte mainly relied, drafted laws, drew up public ordinances, interpreted statutes and acted as a court of appeal.

b. The Tribunals.

The Tribunals, of a hundred members, could pass or reject, but not alter, laws submitted to it by the Government.

c. The Legislative Body.

The Legislative Body, of three hundred members, was "a dumb assembly" which accepted or rejected, without any power of discussion, laws proposed to it by Tribunals or Councils of State.

d. The Senate.

The Senate consisted of eighty members, at least forty years of age, appointed for life and irretrievable. It nominated itself and the Legislative Body, Tribunals and Councils. It could annul any law which it regarded as contrary to the principles of the Constitution.

(ii) The Electorate.

Theoretically, universal suffrage was established, but, in practice, "popular suffrage was rendered completely ineffective."¹² The electors of each commune selected a tenth of their number to form "communal lists" of voters, who elected one-tenth of their number to form a "departmental list." The electors on the departmental list elected one-tenth of their number to form the "national list." Local officials were selected from the appropriate local lists; the Senate nominated members of the Tribunals and Legislative Body from the "national list."

(iii) Local administration.

The *Départements*, or heads of departments and their councils, the *Maires*, or heads of communes, were appointed by the First Consul.

(iv) General.

The Constitution of the Year VIII established a system of highly centralised despotism as absolute and as bureaucratic as that of the Masses, but without any of the checks which had been imposed

¹² Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, page 3.

on the Monarchy by the old Provincial Estates and the system of privilege. All authority came from the First Consul. "There existed in France no authority that could repair a village bridge, or light the streets of a town, but such as owed its appointment to the central government."

B. The Empire.

The influence Bonaparte secured as First Consul in 1799 was strengthened by his great victories; by the concession Court he established at the Tuilleries; by the failure of a Chilian conspiracy to kill Bonaparte on December 24th, 1800; by the rebellion, on May 18th, 1802, of the Legion of Honour; by the appointment of Bonaparte as First Consul for life, with the right to nominate his successor in August, 1802; by the reorganization of the Tribunate to fifty members; by the failure of Pichot's plot against Bonaparte in February, 1804.

The ministers, *Peyrat* and *Maler* whom Bonaparte appointed proved generally capable, and the administration of the country was rapidly reorganized. Frenchmen enjoyed the equality before the law which the Revolution had secured, and those who had bought State property were allowed to retain it. The absolute government of the Consulate gave order and prosperity to France.

(1) The Emperor Napoleon I.

May 18th, 1804. Bonaparte, on a proposal of the Tribunate, accepted by the Senate, became the Emperor Napoleon I. A plebiscite ratified the proposal by a majority of more than 3,000,000 votes.

The Empire was made hereditary.

December 2nd, 1804. Pope Pius VII came to Paris, invested Napoleon with the sword and sceptre of empire and was proceeding to crown him when Napoleon took the crown from the hands of Pius and crowned himself.

(3) The Imperial Court.

As Napoleon was already absolute the Imperial title did not add to his power, but, to emphasise his new dignity, he created a new Imperial hierarchy in which the influence of the Holy Roman Empire and the French Monarchy was apparent.

a. Imperial Grand Dignitaries.

These included the Grand Elector (Joseph Bonaparte), the Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the Arch-Chancellor of State, the Constable (Louis Bonaparte) and the Grand Admiral (Hast).

b. Military Grand Officers.

These included Marshals, Inspectors and Colonel-Generals.

c. Civil Grand Officers.

These included the Grand Almoner, the Grand Marshal of the Palace and the Grand Chamberlain.

d. Territorial dignitaries.

The grant of kingdoms,¹ principalities,² and duchies,³ all dependent upon the Emperor, in Germany and Italy, emphasised the splendour of his position.

e. Titula.

A Grand Dignitary was entitled Prince; a Minister, Senator; a member of the Council of State, Count; Bishops and some Marshals, Barons.

f. General.

Thus Napoleon created a new order of society dependent on himself, and by elaborate ceremonial and strict etiquette emphasised the dignity and supremacy of his position. But

¹ Page 422.

² Page 424.

³ Page 424.

the Court set Napoleon off from the nation : " the Constitution had been usurped by one man ; and that man had ceased to be national."

II. Religious Settlement.

A. General.

(1) The Constitutional Clergy and the Non-Jurors.

The Conscription did not abolish Christianity, and under the Revolution the constitutional priests continued to exercise their functions. But, in spite of bitter persecution, non-juring priests continued to officiate, and thus the schism continued between the constitutional and non-juring priests.

(2) Roman Catholicism strong in France.

The Roman Catholic Church always had strong support in France in spite of the scepticism of the eighteenth century, and Chateaubriand's *Génie du Christianisme* confirmed the loyalty of the faithful.

(3) Bonaparte's position.

Bonaparte, although himself a sceptic, was anxious to establish friendly relations with the Pope who still exercised great moral influence ; the schism was inconsistent with his idea of the subordination of all to the central power ; the support of the clergy would strengthen his position.

B. The Concordat of 1801.

The Concordat was the work of Bonaparte. Of the leading Presidents of the day only Ledru favoured a religious settlement ; the opposition of the Tribunals was overcome by Bonaparte, and the Concordat was concluded on July 12th, 1801, and sanctioned by the Legislative Body on April 13th, 1802.

(I) **Terms.**a. **Bishops.**

All bishops, both constitutional and non-juring, were required to resign their sees; those who refused were deposed by the Pope. The bishoprics were rearranged, France was divided into fifty bishoprics and ten archbishoprics, and Bonaparte nominated men to fill them. These nominees were instituted by the Pope.

b. **The clergy.**

The bishops received absolute power over the clergy who took an oath of obedience to the Government and received from it a fixed salary. But the ecclesiastical property which had been confiscated during the Revolution was not restored to the Church.

- c. The Roman Catholic religion was recognised as the religion of the majority of Frenchmen, but toleration was granted to the professors of other creeds and liberty of conscience was allowed.
- d. By the "Organic Articles" a uniform Catholic liturgy was established, the sanction of the Government was required for the admission of Papal bulls or legates, civil marriage was to precede the religious rite.

(II) **Opposition.**

- a. Bonaparte's agreement with the Pope strengthened his position by winning for him the approval of the initial body of Catholics in France.
- b. Bonaparte then established a religious system closely bound to the Government which strictly supervised the *Journal des Ordres*, the only clerical journal allowed to appear after 1800.

- a. But the fact that an appeal was possible to the Pope by the clergy against the tyranny of bishops, and by bishops against the Government, led in France to the decay of Gallican Liberties¹ and the rise of Ultramontanism.

C. Napoleon annexed the Papal States, 1808.

(i) Napoleon and Pius VII.

In spite of the Concordat they had made in 1802, and although Pius VII created Napoleon's uncle, Fesch, a cardinal, various difficulties arose between the Pope and Emperor.

a. Ecclesiastical questions.

Napoleon, who regarded himself as the successor of Charlemagne, "wished to restrict the Pope strictly to religious affairs," and by the Concordat had made the priests of France dependent on the civil government.

Pius strongly resisted the extension to Italy of the Code Napoleon which authorised divorce; he refused Napoleon's request that he would divorce Jerome from Miss Weston and so allow him to marry into one of the royal families of Europe.

b. Territorial questions.

Napoleon's continental policy was incompatible with the territorial sovereignty of the Pope.

Napoleon refused to return to the Papacy the Legations of Bologna and Ferrara which he had added to the Kingdom of Italy; he had confiscated Parma, Piacenza and Benevento, which belonged to the Papacy, and given them to Bonaparte and Talleyrand; Napoleon seized Ancona in 1806 and refused to restore it to the Papacy.

¹ *Note on European History*, Vol. I, page 218, and Vol. II, page 78.

Pius VII had shown a distinct leaning towards the Coalition in 1805; protested against the appointment of Joseph Bonaparte, in March, 1808, as King of Naples over which the Pope had long claimed suzerainty; refused the demands made by Napoleon, in January, 1809, that he would expel from the Papal States all enemies of France and close the Papal ports against British trade; in October, 1809, he refused to institute Napoleon's nominees to Venetian bishoprics.

(2) The Occupation of the Papal States.

July, 1807. Napoleon's position had been greatly strengthened by the Treaty of Tilsit. The French occupied the Duchy of Urbino, the March of Ancona and Macerata which were incorporated in the Kingdom of Italy.

February 2nd, 1808. General Milhaud occupied Rome, and the Papal States became practically French territory.

May 15th, 1808. Napoleon revoked "the donation of Charlemagne, our august predecessor," and formally added Rome to the French Empire.

June 11th, 1808. Pius VII excommunicated Napoleon.

July 6th, 1808. Pius VII was arrested in Rome and carried off to prison in Savona.

D. Steady resistance of Pius VII.

(1) The French Commission, 1808.

The Pope now refused to institute French bishops, and Napoleon appointed, in November, 1808, an Ecclesiastical Commission for France. If this Commission had met his wishes it would probably have resulted in the severance of the Gallican Church from Rome and established the absolute authority of the French Government over the French Church. But,

while deciding that the actions of the Papal States did not justify the Pope in refusing to install French bishops, it declared that problems affecting the whole of Christendom could be settled only by a General Council of which the Pope was president, and protested against the separation of Pius VII from his cardinals.

January, 1808. The Commission suppressed.

(2) The Concordat of Fontainebleau, 1812.

- a. February 17th, 1810. The Senate decreed that all future Popes of their enthronement and all clergy in the Empire must accept the Gallican Articles of 1802. Deportation to Concessions of many Italian clergy who refused to accept the decree.
- b. August 5th, 1811. A National Council ordered that men should remain empty for not more than twelve months, and that the Metropolitan should institute bishops if the Pope failed to do so within six months. But the Pope's approval was declared necessary for the validity of this order and Pius VII refused to approve of it.

June, 1812. Pius VII was brought to Fontainebleau.

- c. January 29th, 1812. Pius made a new Concordat with Napoleon at Fontainebleau, "authorised the Metropolitan to confirm the bishops whom Napoleon had appointed, and practically abdicated his temporal sovereignty by agreeing to take up his residence at Arvignes,"¹ and to receive a revenue of two million francs. But he soon protested against this arrangement which he had signed as a prisoner and "in error."

¹ Lodge.

(2) *Pius VII returned to Rome.*

January, 1814. Napoleon's defeat at Leipzig in November, 1813,¹ had weakened his power; he delivered the Pope to the Austrians. Pius reached Rome on May 24th, 1814, and Murat was compelled to agree to the restoration of the Papal Authority in the Papal States.

B. General.

Thus the steady opposition of the Pope had cognized the Papal States and maintained his authority over the French clergy. Napoleon's quarrel with the Pope cost him the support of many Catholics in France and enabled his enemies to declare him the enemy of religion.

III. The Codes, 1804-1810.

The Legal Codes were the most durable part of Napoleon's work. They were drawn up by Committees appointed by Napoleon, who attended many of their meetings and materially assisted their proceedings by his "hard common sense"² and "legislative vision." Although the idea that Napoleon actually drew up the laws which are included in the Codes is quite incorrect, Napoleon consolidated and popularised laws which, as a rule, were based on the legislation of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies.

In spite of certain faults the Codes were concise, simple and just. They finally consolidated the work of the Revolution which had established "a regular state based upon a large peasant proprietor, a civil law emancipated from religious influences, a system of land tenure devised to convert the maximum of equality, a law of persons, which proclaimed that all men had equal rights."³ The provision of a uniform system of laws, rapid in procedure and execution, was a great boon to France.

¹ Page 424.

² Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, page 148.

A. The Civil Code.

August 12th, 1804. Napoleon appointed a committee of four lawyers to draw up a Civil Code.

(I) Of persons.

a. The power of the father.

The authority of the father over his family was strengthened, and the family was placed "absolutely at the disposal of its head." The father could impede his children; his assent was necessary for their marriage; he received the income of their property up to their eighteenth birthday.

b. The subjection of women.

A wife was subject to her husband and could not acquire or sell property without his consent.

c. Divorce.

The principle of divorce was admitted, contrary to the policy of the Roman Catholic Church. Divorce was allowed by mutual consent and for adultery, cruelty and grave criminal offences.

(II) Of property.

a. Interest.

Interest was fixed by law.

b. Inheritance.

A man could devise by will not more than a half and not less than a quarter of his property.

This clause was reactionary as the Conscription had limited the devolvable property to one-tenth of the whole. This limitation has been regarded as one cause of the lack of commercial enterprise and the diminution of population which have characterised France in recent years.

B. The Code of Civil Procedure.

The Code of Civil Procedure was largely a re-enactment of Aguesseau's Ordinances of 1787 and 1788. It maintained the principle that conciliation must be attempted before recourse is had to law courts. But the procedure laid down by the code has proved slow and costly and has been amended.

C. Criminal and Penal Codes.**(1) Legal penalties.**

Capital punishment, imprisonment or deportation for life, branding and confiscation of goods were established; maximum and minimum penalties were fixed for crimes.

(2) Judge and jury.

District judges and assize courts were established.

The jury system was maintained as a means of judgment, but not of accusation.

(3) Criminal procedure.

Accused persons were to be tried in public, to receive the assistance of counsel, to call witnesses and to speak in their own defence. But in the preliminary investigation, over which a *juge d'instruction* presided, the prisoner was not present to hear the evidence of witnesses and the fact that there was no system of habeas corpus, the annihilation of juries by the *Préfets* and the secrecy of the preliminary investigation led to a real danger that the accused would suffer from the extensive power given to the executive.

The Code of Criminal Procedure was not decreed until 1808, the Penal Code not till 1810. Both showed signs of the stern despotism that Napoleon had established, particularly in the measures taken to prevent political offence.

D. The Commercial Code.

The Commercial Code dealt with General Commerce

Maritime Congress, Bankruptcy and Commercial Courts. It is the least satisfactory of the codes and has required repeated amendment.

IV. Finance.

A. General.

In 1800 a great amount of depreciated paper currency was in circulation, and the financial position had been impaired by the corruption of the Directory. The position was improved by the exchange of the depreciated securities for consols; by Bonaparte's refusal to issue annuities to cover loans; by the punctual payment in cash of Government annuities; by the establishment in 1800 of the Bank of France, which received the sole right of issuing bank-notes. The standard of gold and silver coinage was fixed.

These financial arrangements contributed to the large measure of prosperity France enjoyed. In 1793, out of every hundred francs he earned, the peasant kept only fifteen for himself; after 1800 he kept seventy-five. The price of Government stock reached its maximum of 66*4* on August 25th, 1807. Its minimum of 4*4*, on May 25th, 1804, was higher than it had been in 1793.

B. Revenue.

The increase in stock, the cost of public works (particularly of roads, bridges and canals) and the extension of the Imperial palaces, the heavy cost of the Government and military expenditure necessitated a large revenue, in spite of large contributions levied on conquered countries.

(1) Taxation.

Bonaparte at first continued the policy of the revolutionary Governments which had relied mainly on direct taxation. But as his position became stronger he imposed more indirect taxes; in 1804 he

taxed liquors; in 1806, salt, in spite of the unpopularity of the *gabelle*; in 1809 he made tobacco a Government monopoly.

(2) War contributions.

The total amount of contributions of money and property exacted from conquered countries was enormous. It was used largely for military purposes, to meet part of the cost of public works and the Imperial palaces, and sometimes to strengthen the budget.

C. The economic crisis of 1814.

By the end of the Empire, in spite of all Napoleon had done to foster trade and industry, the economic position of France had become serious. The long war was now proving a drain on the finances; the Continental System had led to a general rise in prices; the harvest of 1811 was bad. Napoleon attempted to meet the crisis by lending money to manufacturers and by purchasing corn to fill the public granaries. But his attempt failed, and in 1812 he had recourse to the revolutionary plan of fixing a legal maximum price for corn. The disastrous Russian campaign of 1812 aggravated the difficulty; France was morally and physically exhausted.

V. Industry.

Napoleon admitted that he feared "popular insurrections due to economic causes," and took active measures to improve trade and industry.

A. State interference.

The Government recognised Chambers of Commerce in 1803; issued many laws to regulate the supply of food; compelled workmen to register with the police; established the *marie* system. Its policy was protectionist; the tariff of 1808 was one of the *canons*.

of war with Great Britain; the Continental System¹ has been regarded by some as "the pivot of Napoleon's policy."

B. Some important developments.

(1) Applied science.

The "Society for the Encouragement of National Industries" united manufacturers and agriculturists in a common effort to promote industry and "created in France the applied sciences" which owed much to technical schools and Government subventions.

(2) Particular industries.

1808. The discovery of the method of making sugar from beetroot and the extended use of dairies as a substitute for coffee mitigated the effect of the British blockade and led to the development of agriculture.

The woollen trade prospered; the silk trade of Lyons revived, and the cotton trade, in spite of the difficulty of obtaining raw cotton, made remarkable progress.

VI. Education.

A. Schools.

The Government supervised primary and secondary schools, which were supported locally; established and controlled Lycées, a new type of school superior to secondary schools.

B. The University.

1808. Establishment of the Imperial University, a degree of which was a necessary qualification for teachers. Academies were branches of the Imperial University and included those of Belles-Lettres, the French Academy dealing with French language and literature, Inscriptions and Belles-Lettres, Fine Arts.

¹ Page 22.

C. The Press.

Napoleon exercised a rigid control over the press. The number of licensed presses was limited, the censorship of the police was strict. In 1809 the prefect was given control of the single newspaper that was allowed to be issued in each department.

September 17th, 1811. The three remaining Paris newspapers were confiscated and the press practically ceased to exist.

VII. General.

The Revolution, which was a revolt against the absolute government of the Bourbons, resulted in the absolute authority of the Emperor Napoleon. During the Consulate he had really exercised absolute power while preserving the forms of republican equality, but in 1804 he declared that all authority was vested in him as the representative of the Supreme People.

After 1804 Napoleon nominated the Senate which passed without question the Senate's Constitue he presented for its ratification. He was singularly fortunate in his ministers, particularly in Talleyrand (Foreign Minister from 1799-1809), Berthier (War Minister from 1800-1807) and Fouché (Minister of Police from 1799-1802 and from 1804-1810), but from ministers and all public officials he exacted strict obedience to his will.

He made education a department of State and used it to support the social and educational system; he suppressed the liberty of the press; he regulated commerce; he formed a new order of aristocracy to replace the old.

He rendered great service to France, particularly by the codes, but the history of France during the nineteenth century consists largely of attempts to modify the centralized absolutism Napoleon had established.

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EVENTS AFTER THE TREATY OF TILSIT

I. Denmark, Sweden, and Portugal.

In his desire to injure the interests of Great Britain, his only remaining enemy, Napoleon determined to enforce the agreement made with Alexander I of Russia to compel Denmark, Sweden and Portugal to exclude British commerce from their ports, and to make war against Great Britain.

A. Denmark.

Denmark commanded the entrance to the Baltic; a strong French party, led by the Prince Royal, existed at Copenhagen; Canning learned that Napoleon proposed to compel Denmark to join him against Great Britain.

To anticipate the expected annexation of the Danish fleet by Napoleon, Canning demanded that Denmark should make an alliance and surrender her fleet. The Prince Royal refused.

September 2nd-7th, 1807. Heavy bombardment of Copenhagen by the British fleet and Lord Cathcart's army; seizure of the Danish fleet of nineteen vessels.

The action of the British in bombarding a neutral city and seizing a neutral fleet which was too small to affect the ultimate issue, aroused great indignation, seriously weakened the moral influence of Great Britain and lessened her chance of securing Continental allies. But Canning knew of Napoleon's designs and the bombardment of Copenhagen has been defended as an act of timely vigilance which diminished the immediate danger from Napoleon.

October, 1807. Denmark made an alliance with France.

B. Sweden.

(1) Stralsund.

Gustavus IV of Sweden concluded, on June 27th, 1806, an alliance with Great Britain, and a force under Lord Cathcart arrived in the Island of Rügen to co-operate with the Swedes against the French who were besieging Stralsund. Largely owing to the removal of Cathcart's army to Copenhagen, Gustavus was compelled to surrender Stralsund to the French on August 20th, 1807.

(2) Finland.

Owing to the persistent refusal of Gustavus IV to adopt the Continental System, Alexander, in alliance with Denmark, made war on Sweden which received help from Great Britain.

March, 1808. The Russians took Abo, the capital of Finland, Gotland and the Aland Isles.

March, 1809. Annexation of Finland by Alexander I who became Grand Duke and undertook to maintain the rights of the Duchy.

September 17th, 1809. By the Treaty of Fredrikshamn Charles XIII ceded Finland to Russia.

(3) Changes in the Swedish Monarchy.

March, 1809. Deposition of Gustavus IV, largely owing to the failure of the Swedes in Finland.

January, 1810. Charles XIII promised to adopt the Continental System, and made the Treaty of Paris with Napoleon who agreed to restore Swedish Pomerania and Rügen. Marshal Bernadotte, Prince of Ponte Corvo, was elected Crown Prince of Sweden in August, 1810, and became King Charles XIV in 1818.

C. Portugal.

Napoleon required the Prince Regent to declare war on Great Britain and to confiscate all British property in Portugal.

October 12th, 1807. The Prince Regent agreed to declare war on Great Britain, but refused to confiscate the property. Napoleon, who had gathered an army at Bayonne, declared war on Portugal, and on October 27th, 1807, made the Treaty of Fontainebleau with Spain by which Portugal was to be partitioned; the northern provinces were to be given to the young King of Brazil who was to cede Bahia to the Kingdom of Italy; the King of Spain was made Protector of the district between the Minho and Douro; Godoy was to receive the southern provinces. Napoleon's real intention was to secure Portugal as a prelude to the conquest of Spain.

November 29th, 1807. Escape of the Prince Regent, the leading ministers and the Portuguese fleet to Brazil.

November 30th, 1807. José occupied Lisbon.

II. The Revival of Prussia.

A. The development of national Patriotism.

(1) Prussia after the Treaty of Tilsit.

Prussia seemed crushed by the Treaty of Tilsit. She lost half her territory; France, in the years that followed, exacted from her not less than six hundred million francs; the French held the fortresses of Cologne, Mainz and Bingen as security for payment of indemnity; Prussian maritime trade was ruined by her adoption, by Napoleon's orders, of the Continental System.

(2) Political and social conditions.

The social conditions of Prussia were not calculated to produce national unity. The Monarchy was absolute, no form of self-government existed, and the people were passive agents of a despotic will. Rigid divisions of class separated from each other the three classes of nobles, citizens and peasants; land could not pass from one class to another; the peasants were serfs; Government officials persecuted the possibility of civic freedom in the towns.

But the suppression of the Holy Roman Empire and the rise of large states, strong resistance at the presence of French armies and the execution of Napoleon, and the example of the national resistance of Spain to France in 1808 made Germany, and especially Prussia, more ready to oppose France.

(2) The growth of patriotism in Prussia.

Her strong centralized Government had familiarised Prussia with the idea of the unity of the State. This idea was strengthened by consciousness of suffering caused by the tyranny of Napoleon and by the heroic conduct of Queen Louise; it received from various sources an intellectual basis which distinguished the national movement in Prussia from the rising in Spain and largely accounted for "the burning of mental and civic ardour with which modern Germany has enriched the life of Central Europe."¹

a. The teaching of Fichte.

Fichte, Professor of Philosophy at Jena, and later, Berlin, struck the keynote of the new movement in his *Kosmos as the despotic Nation*, 1807, in which he advocated German patriotism based on a national system of education.

b. Education.

Largely owing to the efforts of Wilhelm von Humboldt, appointed Minister of Public Instruction in 1808, Prussian education was reformed. The Gymnasium, in which classics formed the main subject, were reorganized, and new ideals of thoroughness and efficiency arose in the schools.

1810. The University of Berlin was opened, and the teaching of such professors as Fichte (philosophy), Savigny (jurisprudence), Wolf (classics) and Ranke (history), profoundly affected German thought.

¹ Page 488.

* Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VII, page 216.

III. Incorporation of the University of Berlin.

a. The Teutoburg.

June, 1808. Formation of the *Teutoburg* which aimed at "the revival of morality, religion, various taste and public spirit" and contributed to the revival of that moral enthusiasm which proved an important factor in the War of Liberation, 1813.

The reforms of Stein and Hardenberg gave practical effect to the desire for national independence.

B. The Freiherr von Stein, 1757-1821.

(i) Chief Minister of Prussia.

Stein, a Knight of the Empire, had protested against the abolition of the Knights' Order which the Confederation of the Rhine involved, and had urged that the action of Germany should give up their internal rivalries in order to promote the national unity of Germany. He had entered the Prussian service, but had been deprived of office in January, 1807, for advocating the establishment of a National Council to undertake necessary reforms. In 1807 Napoleon compelled Frederick William III to dismiss Hardenberg, owing to his sympathy with Britain, and urged the King to make Stein his chief minister.

October 4th, 1807. Stein became Minister of Home Affairs in Prussia with the right of attending the deliberations of the recently established Military Commission.

(ii) The Edict of Emancipation, 1807.

Stein carried into effect the recommendations of a commission which had been appointed under Hardenberg, and the success of the Edict was partly due to the strong support of the Elbg.

a. Taxes.

October 9th, 1867. The Edict of Exemptions provided:—

(1) Serfs.

That serfdom should be abolished; that serfs should retain the occupancy of their holdings as condition of giving to their lords one-third of the land in compensation for the loss of feudal dues which were now abolished.¹ The lords retained judicial rights over their tenants until 1848.

(2) Caste.

Legal caste distinctions were abolished; occupations were to be open to all without reference to caste; the old division of land into noble-land, burgher-land, and peasant-land was ended and freedom of trade in land partitioned to all men irrespective of social position.

b. Criticism.

The Edict finally suppressed feudalism, except in regard to jurisdiction, in Prussia, and substituted free tenure of land for serfdom; it established the free distribution of labour and property. The Edict gained for Bismarck the strong enmity of the nobles, but the support of Frederick William III enabled him to overcome their opposition to it.

(3) The Establishment of Local Self-Government, 1868.

Bismarck regarded a strong monarchy as an essential condition of government; but he greatly admired the democratic institutions of Great Britain and desired to establish a Parliament, District Councils and Municipalities which would give the people an active share in the direction of affairs.

November 16th, 1868. The care of the poor, the maintenance of streets and public buildings and the

¹ This condition was added by Hesse-Cassel in 1871.

supervision of schools were entrusted to elected town councillors; the authority of the lord of the manor was abolished; the Government retained control of finance and police.

This measure of self-government, limited though it was, did much to promote civic patriotism. The credit of it belongs to Stein alone, but he was unable to carry into effect his whole scheme because Napoleon found that he was not only protecting a national revival in Prussia, but also advancing war with France, and by an Imperial decree compelled the King to dismiss him in December, 1808. Stein fled into Bohemia. His ability, energy and devoted patriotism were important causes of the revival of Prussia.

C. General David Schwerin, 1796-1813.

Schwerin was responsible for the establishment of a Prussian national army, although he owed much to Stein's strong support. Napoleon, in September, 1806, forbade Prussia to maintain an army of more than 10,000 men, or to establish a militia. Schwerin insisted on the duty of every Prussian between eighteen and thirty to share in the national defence; he passed men rapidly through the army into the reserve, and while apparently limiting the army to the number prescribed by Napoleon, secured for Prussia by this "shrinking quota" 150,000 trained men by 1812. Napoleon compelled Frederick William to dismiss Schwerin in 1810.

The King greatly improved the efficiency and morale of the army by abandoning the absolute tactics of Frederick II, abolishing degrading punishments and causing officers to gain promotion by merit.

III. The Conference of Erfurt, 1813.

A. Napoleon's difficulties.

(1) Austria.

Although Austria had accepted the Continental

System in February, 1808, her attitude towards Napoleon gradually became more hostile. France I, as a faithful Catholic, resented the occupation of Rome by French troops in February, 1804¹, as a Hapsburg is abased to the way Napoleon treated the royal houses of Portugal and Spain.

The French held Illyria, Wallachia and Dalmatia; the Russians had failed to help Russia in 1807,² and could look for no help from Alexander; Great Britain had rejected the offer of Austria to act as mediator with Napoleon. But the Austrians, tired of Napoleon's domination, impetrated by the Continental System, and inspired by the bold advice of Stadion, resolved to rely upon their own efforts.

June 6th, 1808. Formation of a national *Landsknecht* composed of all citizens, other than regular soldiers, between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.

(3) Napoleon and Alexander I.

Alexander had recently acquired Poland and was anxious to secure Moldavia and Wallachia. Napoleon, in May, 1808, made place for an expedition which would give him Corfu, Sicily and Spain, and thus secure command of the Mediterranean with a prospect of an attack on India in the near future.

Alexander had resisted the formation of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the continuance of France's garrisons in Prussia, and Stadion hoped to secure his assistance against France. But Napoleon now proposed that Turkey should be partitioned between Russia and France, while Austria was to receive a small portion of the spoil, and, although nations differed over because the Russians demanded Bosnia and Constantinople, the prospect of securing valuable additions to his territory kept Alexander friendly to Napoleon.

¹ Page 456

² Page 455.

(2) The Spanish rising.

The Spanish Rising,¹ and particularly the Capitalisation of Bayona on July 30th and the Convention of Cisneros on August 20th, 1808, profoundly affected European politics. It helped Spain and Portugal to renew national feeling in Prussia and Austria. It compelled Napoleon to give up his plans against Turkey and, in spite of the growing danger from Prussia and Austria, to draw large reinforcements from his veteran troops in Germany.

"It is not too much to say that [the Spanish Rising] saved Prussia from virtual extinction and the Turkish Empire from partition," and blotted all of Napoleon's plans.

B. The Conference.

Alexander's help was absolutely essential for Napoleon to be able to prevent Prussia and Austria from rising against France while Napoleon was fighting in Spain. At Erfurt, Alexander and not, as at Tilsit, Napoleon, played the leading part.

(1) Terms.

October 12th, 1808. By the conference of Erfurt.

- a. Napoleon agreed to the addition of Finland, Moldavia and Wallachia to Russia, but refused to agree to the cession of Constantinople and the Danubian cities.
- b. Alexander promised to support France if it was broken out with Austria, but, anxious to maintain Austria as a buffer state, refused to support Napoleon's demand that it should immediately disarm.
- c. Napoleon promised to evacuate the Prussian fortresses on the Oder.
- d. Alexander recognised Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain.

¹ Page 478.

- a. A joint proposal for peace made to Great Britain by Napoleon and Alexander proved unsuccessful because Czarist insisted that the Spanish nation should be a party to any negotiations.

(2) Criticism.

The Conference resulted in the maintenance of the Franco-Russian alliance, but "on somewhat strained terms."

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THE WAR WITH AUSTRIA, 1809

I. The Position of Austria.

A. Austria the champion of Germany.

Austria, already hostile to France,¹ was encouraged to start a war in April, 1809, by the Spanish Rising which would limit the number of French forces available for service in Central Europe; Metternich, the Austrian Ambassador to Paris, reported that the French were tired of war. Stadion, who feared that Napoleon would attack Austria after he had conquered Spain, aimed at uniting German national feeling against Napoleon. Prussia I, whose policy hitherto had been Austrian rather than German, seized the opportunity afforded by the weakness of Prussia to assume the leadership of Germany, and issued a stirring appeal "to the German nation" to fight for the Fatherland.

¹ Page 476, 3d. &c. 4.

B. Isolation of Austria.

But Austria was isolated. Alexander I refused to support her. In spite of the growing hostility towards Prussia in Prussia, Frederick William III refused to form an alliance with Austria as Scharnhorst wished and would not act without Russia. The people of the Confederation of the Rhine were greatly disaffected with French rule, but the officials and troops remained faithful to Napoleon; Saxony, Bavaria, Württemberg and Westphalia sent troops to fight in the French armies. The full effect of the Continental Blockade was not felt throughout Germany until after 1809. Baden, therefore, failed to arrest German national feeling except in the German provinces of Austria. Great Britain, Napoleon's implacable enemy, could not at first do more than send subsidies.

II. Plan of Campaign.

In March, 1809, there were only two French army corps in Germany, that of Davout, numbering 60,000, at Potsdam, and of Massena at Augsburg; Berthier commanded a third army which was quartered around Strasburg. The Austrians had 350,000 men to whom, at the moment, Napoleon could oppose about 160,000.

A. The Archduke Charles.

The Archduke Charles, who had concentrated 300,000 men in Bohemia, and was to attack Davout before he could combine with the distant French armies of Massena or Berthier. A speedy attack would probably have annihilated Davout's army and stimulated risings against Napoleon in Prussia and Westphalia, where Jerome's rule had caused great discontent.

B. The Archdukes John and Ferdinand.

The Archduke John was to attack the French in Italy and Dalmatia; the Archduke Ferdinand to invade Poland.

C. The Tyrol.

The Tyrol had been given to Bavaria by the Peace of Pressburg, but was ready to rise against Bavaria owing to the heavy taxation imposed and the military service enforced by the Bavarians, and still more owing to the attack made by the latter on the rights and property of the Church.

III. From the Outbreak of the War to the Capture of Vienna.

A. The Archduke Charles.

(1) The dilatory tactics of the Archduke.

The Archduke Charles failed, owing to the slow concentration of his troops, to enter Bavaria until April 16th, 1809. He then advanced so slowly that he lost his opportunity of crushing Davout and gave Napoleon time to enter Donauwörth on April 17th. Davout checked the Archduke at Hohenasperg on April 18th and succeeded in effecting a junction with Napoleon.

The delay of the Archduke was a fatal mistake.

(2) The Rainbeau campaign, April 18th-23rd, 1809.

Napoleon had now concentrated his forces.

April 20th, 1809. Napoleon routed the Archduke's left at Abensberg.

April 22nd, 1809. Napoleon routed the Archduke, commanding the Austrian main body, at Eckmühl.

The Austrian army was cut in two, it lost 40,000 men in five days; the Archduke crossed the Danube and took up a position on the Marchfeld.

May 13th, 1809. Napoleon entered Vienna.

B. The Archduke John.

April 16th, 1809. John defeated Eugène de Beauharnais, the Viceroy of Italy, at Aspern, and, on April 19th at Caldiero, but was compelled to retreat owing to the danger to Vienna.

June 18th, 1809. Bachmann, who had pursued the Archduke, defeated him at Eszék in Hungary and joined Napoleon at Leipa. The Archduke fell back on Pressburg.

C. The Archduke Ferdinand.

April 2nd, 1809. Ferdinand entered Warsaw.

June 3rd, 1809. Ferdinand evacuated Warsaw on the approach of superior Russian and Polish forces.

D. The Tyrol.

April 10th, 1809. The Tyrolese rose under Andreas Hofer, an innkeeper of Planzen, and, with some help from the Austrians, within four days, took Innsbruck and expelled the Bavarians from Northern Tyrol.

May 2nd, 1809. The Bavarian general, Wrede, recrossed Innsbruck.

May 27th, 1809. The Tyrolese again took Innsbruck and drove the Bavarians out of the Tyrol.

E. Rising in Northern Germany.

(1) Westphalia.

April, 1809. Unsuccessful rising under Dürnberg.

(2) Frederick von Schill.

April, 1809. Schill, a Prussian major, led his regiment from Berlin to support Dürnberg. Hearing of Dürnberg's failure he marched through Mecklenburg, took Stralsund on May 28th, but was slain on May 31st when Stralsund was retaken by Danish and Dutch troops.

IV. Aspern and Wagram.

May, 1809. Napoleon, having seized Vienna, determined to cross the Danube and attack the Archduke Charles on the Marchfeld.

A. Aspern and Essling.

May 20th, 1809. Forty-thousand French crossed the Danube by bridges connecting the island of Lobau with both banks and occupied Aspern and Essling.

May 21st-22nd, 1809. Severe fighting in Aspern, which was lost and won five times, and Essling. The Austrians drove the French back into Lobau, but were too exhausted to pursue them.

The Battle of Aspern, the first Napoleon had lost, destroyed the belief that he was invincible and encouraged the Austrians.

B. Wagnitz.

Napoleon held Lobau, which he strongly fortified, and was joined on July 2nd, 1809, by the army of Italy under Beaumont.

July 6th, 1809. Napoleon crossed to the north bank of the Danube with 180,000 men.

July 6th, 1809. Napoleon defeated the Archduke Charles at Wagram, but the Austrians retreated in good order. The Archduke John had failed to join his brother before the battle, and some authorities hold that his failure was responsible for the Austrian defeat.

July 12th, 1809. The Armistice of Zossim stopped further fighting between the Austrians and French.

[The Tyrolese refused to recognize the Armistice and offered such resistance to the Bavarians that Napoleon sent Beaumont to invade the Tyrol.

November 1st, 1809. Hitler defeated on the Iselberg.

February 1st, 1810. Hitler shot by the French at Massena].

V. Walcheren.

July 5th, 1809. Great Britain sent a force of 40,000 men, under Chatham, to attack Antwerp. Chatham landed in Walcheren, besieged Flushing which he took on August 18th, but failed to reach Antwerp which, owing to his delay at Flushing and the slowness of his advance, had been strongly fortified by the French.

September, 1809. The expedition was recalled to England except 12,000 men who were left for a time in Wallachia, where 2000 died of fever and ague. The remainder returned to England in December.

The failure was due to the incapacity of Charles and the climate. The expedition failed to reach Napoleon. It is possible that an expedition to the north of the Danube, which the Austrians advocated, might have been more successful and might have materially helped Austria by encouraging Prussia to rise against Napoleon. It is certain that if the expedition had been sent to Spain it would have greatly assisted Wellington.

VI. The Peace of Vienna or Schönbrunn, October, 1809.

The weakness of the Austrian generals, the failure of the Wallachian expedition, the persistent refusal of Prussia to join Austria, the advice of Metternich who now advocated peace and an understanding with France, led Francis I to agree to the Peace of Vienna which was signed at Schönbrunn on October 13th, 1809.

A. Terms.

(1) Austria gave up.

- a. To Napoleon: Trieste, Carniola, Carinthia, Croatia and Dalmatia, which were reorganized as the "Illyrian Provinces."
- b. To Bavaria: Salzburg and much of Upper Austria.
- c. To the Grand Duchy of Warsaw: Most of Western Galicia.

(2) Austria agreed.

To recognize the authority of France in Spain, when conquered, Italy and Portugal; to accept the Continental System; to pay a large indemnity. Austria left the Tyrols to the mercy of Napoleon.

B. Criticism.

(1) Austria a second-class power.

Austria had failed to weaken Napoleon's supremacy. By the Peace she lost 50,000 square miles of territory and four million inhabitants, she seemed to be excluded from Germany till the Mediterranean and became a second-class power. Metternich succeeded Stadion and adopted a policy of reaction at home and subservience to France in foreign affairs.

(2) Napoleon's position weakened.

But the war of 1809 had important consequences and ultimately weakened Napoleon's position. It assisted Wellington by withdrawing French troops from Spain at a critical moment; Alexander I strongly resisted the cession of Western Galicia to the Grand Duchy of Warsaw; it showed the importance of national resistance to Napoleon and proved that he was not invincible; the heroism of Schill and Höfer was soon to inspire further resistance to Napoleon.

References:

- Revolutionary Europe* (Moses Stephens), Binghamton, chap. ix.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. VIII, chap. xii.
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THE CONTINENTAL SYSTEM

The conquest of Great Britain was essential for the success of Napoleon's plan. But an invasion of England was impossible as the British navy commanded the sea. Napoleon therefore determined to "conquer England on the Continent," and introduced the Continental System by which he hoped to exclude Great Britain and her colonies from European markets and to ruin British trade.

The idea of a Continental System was not new. France had always favoured Protection; the Revolutionists, following Quesnay,¹ regarded agriculture as the true source of national wealth, hated England as the abode of corrupting commerce, and in 1793 excluded from the territory of the Republic all goods produced in Great Britain or her colonies. In 1803 Napoleon had invaded Hanover and tried to sever Hanover in order to close Northern Germany to British trade; on April 1st, 1806, he compelled Frederick William III to close the ports of Prussia and Hanover to British ships. Great Britain immediately retaliated by declaring the coast line from the Elbe to the Ems in a state of blockade.

I. The Decrees and Orders in Council.

A. The Berlin Decree and the Order of January, 1807.

(1) The Decree.

November 21st, 1806. By the Berlin decree Napoleon declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, ordered the imprisonment of British subjects found in French territory and the confiscation of their goods, closed all ports in French or allied territory to ships coming from Great Britain or her colonies.

(2) The Order.

January 7th, 1807. An Order in Council forbade neutrals, on pain of confiscation of ship and cargo, to trade between ports from which British ships were excluded.

B. The Warrent Decree, 1807.

January 22nd, 1807. Napoleon ordered the seizure in the Hanse towns of all British goods and colonial produce.

Great Britain therefore blockaded more strictly the North German coast.

¹ Page 48.

C. The Orders of November, 1805, and the Milan Decree.

The danger to Great Britain caused by the union of Russia and France at Tilsit,⁴ led to more stringent orders.

(1) The Orders.

November 11th and 25th, 1805. Orders in Council declared that any port from which British goods were excluded was in a state of blockade, and declared that no full-fledged articles produced by excluding countries; required neutrals actually sailing to a hostile port to go to a British port; gave facilities to neutral vessels to board in England and to re-export merchandise on favourable terms. Facilities were also given to neutrals to trade with a hostile port not actually subject to British blockade.

(2) The Decree.

December 17th, 1805. The (second) Milan Decree declared that any neutral ship diverting its course from a French to a British port should be "denationalised" and liable to capture.

D. The Trianon Tariff and Fontainebleau Decrees, 1810.

(1) The Trianon Tariff.

August 8th, 1810. Owing to the great amount of British colonial produce which was smuggled into Europe, Napoleon allowed the importation of such produce on payment of a duty of fifty per cent.

(2) The Fontainebleau Decree.

October 18th and 25th, 1810. The Fontainebleau Decree ordered that all British manufactured goods found in French territory should be burnt and that special tribunals should be established to try people who attempted to evade Napoleon's decree.

E. The System an important part of Napoleon's Policy.

Napoleon did his utmost to ensure the success of the Continental System. In 1809 he compelled Frederick

⁴ Page 484.

William III, and in 1807 persuaded Alexander I, to accept it. It largely accounts for his desire to seize the Danish fleet in 1807, for his hostility to Portugal and Spain in 1807 and 1808. He compelled Francis I to accept the Continental System in 1809. The opposition of Dutch neutrals to the system led Napoleon to send French troops to occupy Holland in 1809 and caused the resignation of King Louis (Napoleon). On December 10th, 1809, owing to the smuggling of British goods from Holland, Napoleon annexed the whole of the North-West Coast of Germany, including the free city of Lübeck and the Grand Duchy of Oldenburg, the Grand Duke of which was a brother-in-law of Alexander I.

III. Effects of the Continental System.

A. Economic.

Napoleon, although he nominally controlled all harbours from Nivel to Riga, was unable strictly to enforce the system owing to the widespread smuggling by which it was evaded. Louis could not enforce it in Holland. Jerome could not be trusted to enforce it in Westphalia.

Europe could not dispense with the produce of British collieries and the manufactured goods of England. In 1806 Napoleon was compelled to issue Decrees to French merchants to bring British goods into France, and the Tripartite Decree of 1810 admitted British merchandise and foodstuffs; in the Syrian campaign Napoleon clothed his troops with uniforms from Leeds and shoes from Northampton. The Continental System injured France more than Great Britain.

(i) Great Britain.

Britain derived great advantage from the practical extinction of neutral shipping which resulted from the system, and British shipowners secured the carrying trade of the world; she carried on an enormous colonial trade, and ultimately derived commercial benefit

from the vast stores of banded goods that were accumulated at bar ports owing to the Order in Council of November, 1807; the contraband trade with Europe yielded enormous profits.

But serious difficulties were caused by the system. The exclusion of British goods from continental markets led to a rise in the price of gold which had to be exported to pay for imports. Paper currency was much inflated, the price of commodities rose (the average price of wheat in 1810 was 100s. a quarter), and great distress resulted among the poor. The restrictions on the export of British goods to the Continent caused serious industrial depression.

But on the whole the system "increased rather than diminished the commercial prosperity of England."¹

(2) Europe.

The system caused profound discontent. Merchants suffered greatly, particularly from the loss of British trade, and many were ruined by the destruction of their goods in accordance with the Decree of Fustaine-Bouan. The merchants of Holland and the industries of Switzerland were ruined; in Hamburg in 1810 only one sugar refinery out of 400 was working; French troops had to be sent to Prudhom in 1813 to compel the city to carry out Napoleon's orders.

The people suffered seriously owing to the great rise in the price of necessary commodities.

The Baltic States suffered most. They could not produce any of the articles demanded as was possible to some extent in southern countries. It was impossible to smuggle their staple products, such as timber and iron, into Britain which hitherto had been their best customer. "The experiment broke down where failure might have been expected, namely, in Russia, Sweden and Northern Germany."²

¹ *Monk Bradach, Revolutionary Europe*, page 167.

² *Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. VIII, page 572.

B. Political.

(1) Great Britain.

The measures taken by Great Britain to counteract Napoleon's schemes led to the War with the United States, 1812-1814.
11

(2) Prussia.

The hostility to Napoleon which, owing to political apathy had not led to active opposition in 1809, was revived by his fiscal policy.

(3) Russia.

Alexander I strongly resented the injury caused to Russian trade and the seizure of his brother-in-law's Duchy of Oldenburg. He removed all prohibitions on the import of British goods in 1811. With the conclusion of Peace between Great Britain, Russia and Sweden in 1812 the Continental System came to an end. It proved one of the causes of the Russo-Finnish War of 1812.¹²

IV. General.

The Continental System is "the most stupendous proof of Napoleon's incapacity as a statesman."¹³ It was a fantastic scheme which transgressed the limits of practical statesmanship. It was based on the fundamental error that Napoleon's subjects would sacrifice their personal comfort to enable him to crush his hated and invincible enemy, Great Britain, which was virtually indispensable to Europe. It materially contributed to the overthrow of Napoleon.

References:

Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, pages 222-3
and chap. XIII.

¹¹ Page 496.

¹² Lodge.

THE PENINSULAR WAR, 1808-1814

I. The French invade Spain.

Napoleon meant to use Portugal as a base for an attack on Spain.

A. Godoy and Napoleon.

The weak King Charles IV and his minister Godoy, the lover of the Queen, had been subservient to France since 1796. Their policy had resulted in the destruction of the Spanish and French fleets at Finisterre¹ and Trafalgar,² and the consequent interruption of the supply of gold and silver from Mexico and Peru. Napoleon had offered the Spanish Bahama Isles to Great Britain in exchange for Sicily in 1806; the capture of Buenos Ayres by the British in June, 1806, led Godoy to enter into secret negotiations with Great Britain and, hoping that Prussia would keep Napoleon in check, to call the Spanish people to arms to maintain their independence. But owing to the French victory at Jena, Godoy resumed his relations with Napoleon, and by the Treaty of Fontainebleau in 1807 agreed that French armies should pass through Spain on their way to Portugal.³

B. The Spanish Royal Family.

(1) Rivalry between Charles IV and Ferdinand.

Ferdinand, Prince of the Asturias, led the strong opposition to Godoy, and in October, 1807, Charles IV arrested his son on a charge of plotting to dethrone him and murder the Queen and Godoy.

(2) The French invasion.

December, 1807. Desport crossed the Bidassoa.

February, 1808. The French seized Pamplona in Basque and the citadel of Barcelona in Catalonia, on the East Coast.

¹ Page 468.

² 428.

³ Page 470.

(3) The Revolution of Aranjuez.

March 19th, 1808. The Spaniards, bitterly hostile to Godoy and suspicious of the movements of the French, rose at Aranjuez. Charles IV in terror resigned the Crown to Ferdinand, who, instead of joining the Spanish army, awaited at Madrid the arrival of Murat, who proclaimed himself "Emperor in Spain."

(4) Abdication of Ferdinand.

May 6th, 1808. Ferdinand, terrorised by Napoleon, renounced the throne to Charles IV, who at once abdicated.

June 10th, 1808. The Spanish Government accepted Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain.

C. National rising.

An unsuccessful rising against Murat's troops had taken place in Madrid on May 2nd. The proclamation of Joseph Bonaparte as King of Spain led to a national rising of the Spaniards, who, unlike Germany and Italy, were a united and patriotic nation. This was the first appearance of national resistance to Napoleon.

The strength of the resistance lay in the provinces, not Madrid, which was of little military importance. Provincial Juntas were formed, but they were weak and impotent. The regular soldiers were few; most of the forces available were raw recruits. Napoleon, thinking the rising could be easily crushed, tried to put it down with flying columns of inexperienced troops.

D. The capitulation of Baylen.

July 13th, 1808. Soult defeated Blake at Medina del Rio Seco in Leon and restored the communication between Madrid and the Pyrenees. Murat was elected in Valencia.

July 30th, 1808. Dupont, advancing towards Seville in Andalucia, was compelled to surrender at Baylen. This victory led to the flight of Joseph from Madrid on

August 1st and the withdrawal of the French to the Elba. It encouraged the Spaniards to start the guerrilla warfare which proved so costly to the French. It encouraged Austria to resist Napoleon and led Alexander I to doubt the wisdom of the friendly relations he had established with Napoleon.

II. The Sacking of Portugal.

A. The assistance of Great Britain.

(1) Change in British policy.

Hitherto Great Britain had used her navy to capture French, Spanish and Dutch colonies and to secure the Mediterranean. Her military efforts had been limited and often unsuccessful. She now, to the great advantage of Europe, abandoned her policy of "fishing sugar islands"¹⁴ for military intervention on a large scale in Europe.

(2) Portugal seeks British aid.

The rising in Spain cut off Junot's army which lay arrested Lisbon; the Portuguese rose against the French and established a Junta at Oporto. The Junta, unable to assist Junot, appealed for help to Great Britain, which granted assistance.

B. The Conquest of Egypt.

(1) Sir Arthur Wellesley.

August 1st, 1808. A force of 900 men under Sir Arthur Wellesley, intended for South America, was diverted to Portugal and landed at Mondego Bay.

August 17th, 1808. Wellesley defeated at Buçaco a French force which tried to stop his advance on Lisbon.

August 21st, 1808. Wellesley's reinforced army routed Junot at Vimiera, but he was prevented by his superior Barros from pursuing the defeated French.

¹⁴ *Plantation*.

(2) The Convention of Cintra.

August 20th, 1808. Dalrymple, who had superseded Bertrand, by the Convention of Cintra allowed Junot to evacuate Portugal with all his spoil. The evacuation of Portugal and the surrender of Lisbon without injury gave Britain a friendly and strong base of operations, but Dalrymple was blamed for giving too favourable terms to Junot. Bothell & Bertrand, Dalrymple and Wellesley. Sir John Moore succeeded Dalrymple.

C. Napoleon entered Madrid.

(1) Napoleon comes to Spain.

Napoleon, after the defeat of Baylen, sent veteran troops under Victor, Mortier and Soult to Spain and himself entered Spain in November, 1808.

(2) The Spaniards defeated.

A central Junta had been established, but its refusal to appoint a commanding-chief weakened the Spaniards, who were drawn up in three armies extending from Bilbao to Saragossa. Napoleon determined to defeat the eastern and western armies, to break through the centre and advance on Madrid.

November 14th, 1808. Soult routed the army of Biscayana, the centre, at Burgos.

November 15th, 1808. Victor routed Blake's army of Galicia, the left, at Logrono.

November 23rd, 1808. Lannes routed the combined armies of Andalusia and Aragon, the right, under Palafox at Tudela.

December 4th, 1808. Napoleon entered Madrid.

D. Germans.

Sir John Moore advanced from Lisbon to help the Spaniards left, but hearing of the recent defeat the Spaniards had refused, determined to weaken Napoleon's line of communications and to relieve the pressure on Madrid. He was joined by Baird's army from

Cortenza on December 20th and prepared to attack Soult at Salamanca, but, learning of the fall of Madrid, and hearing that Napoleon was advancing against him, retreated to Corunna. This masterly retreat was marred by the bad discipline and drunkenness of the soldiers and by the heroism with which the resolute best of the attack of Soult, who captured the port after Napoleon had returned to France. Moore reached Corunna, where he had to wait for transports, and the delay gave time for Soult to arrive.

January 16th, 1809. Moore routed Soult at Corunna, but was killed in action.

Moor's raid saved Southern Spain and Portugal from immediate attack; stopped the French advance for two months; gave the Spaniards time to rally their forces.

B. Talavera.

(1) French campaigns.

a. Portugal.

March 29th, 1809. Soult captured Oporto.

b. Extremadura.

March 29th, 1809. Victor defeated the Spanish Army of the South at Medellin.

c. The North-East.

December 21st, 1808. Defeat of the army of Catalonia at Molins de Rey by St. Cyr.

February 2nd, 1809. Soult took of Saragossa to Lanzar after a strong resistance.

(2) Wellington returns to Portugal.

April 27th, 1809. Wellington landed at Lisbon and took command of the British and Portuguese forces. His arrival inspired the Portuguese.

May 22nd, 1809. Wellington forced the passage of the Douro, drove Soult out of Oporto into Galicia.

(3) Tolosa.

Wellington now decided, in conjunction with a Spanish army under Osuna, to attack Vitoria, who left Estella owing to the exhaustion of his soldiers and retired towards Madrid.

July 21st-26th, 1813. Wellington rested Vitoria at Tolosa, but the incapacity of Osuna limited his success and the want of food and pay threatened his force. He gave up the idea of advancing on Madrid and withdrew into Portugal. Wellington was created Viscount Wellington.

(4) French successes.

a. Andalucia.

November 1812, 1813. King Joseph defeated the Spaniards at Ocaña and overran Andalucia.

b. Aragon and Catalonia.

June 1813. Suchet routed Blake at Belchite.

December 20th, 1813. Aragozen took Geronia, in spite of the gallant defence of Alzara.

V. The last French invasion of Portugal, 1812.

Napoleon wished to attack Portugal but the invasion was delayed by the Andalucian campaign, the late arrival of reinforcements sent from Germany after Wagram and the gallant resistance of Ciudad Rodrigo which resisted Ney's attacks from April 22nd till July 1st, 1812.

Wellington seized the opportunity to construct the double line of Tormes-Vidre and a third line at the mouth of the Tagus to facilitate the embarkation of his army in case of defeat. The former line stretched for twenty-nine and twenty-four miles respectively from sea to sea and were protected by 427 guns. He persecuted the Portuguese to exasperate and disunite the country in front of the lines and left the Portuguese militia outside to harass the French by guerrilla warfare.

(1) Massena's advance.

Massena took Almeida and invaded Portugal with 70,000 men on September 15th, 1810. Wellington fell back, and having defeated the pursuing French at Bussaco, where the Portuguese fought bravely, on September 23rd, passed within the lines of Torres Vedras on October 11th, 1810.

Massena found the lines too strong to attack and fell back on Santarem, where his army suffered greatly from hunger. He made a skilful retreat to Ciudad Rodrigo, which he reached on April 6th, 1811. He lost 22,000 men in this campaign, mostly through starvation, and of his troops retained only Ciudad Rodrigo and Almeida.

(2) Massena's retreat.

Wellington, who had received reinforcements from England, passed Massena, besieged Almeida, defeated Massena, who tried to relieve it at Fuentes d'Onoro on May 3rd-5th, 1811, and captured Almeida on May 11th. Portugal was thus cleared of the French.

Massena's failure proved the turning point of the war and had a profound moral effect on Europe. "The offensive power of the French hosts in Spain was spent; and it may be said that the retreat which began at Santarem only ended at Toulouse."¹¹ It saved Portugal, gave Wellington a base of attack on the lines of the French from Madrid to Hispania, secured for him the steady support of the British Government, which had hitherto been somewhat vacillant, and encouraged the Spaniards.

III. Wellington's Second Invasion of Spain, 1812.

A. Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo.

To facilitate his proposed invasion of Spain, Wellington attacked Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo.

¹¹ Chambers Modern History, Vol. IX, page 463.

(1) Badajoz.

Wellington now determined to lay siege to Badajoz, which Soult had captured in March, 1811.

May 14th, 1811. Beresford defeated Soult, who was advancing to raise the siege, at Albuera; but the union of the armies of Soult and Marmont, who had succeeded Massena, compelled Wellington to withdraw from Badajoz on June 2nd.

(2) Ciudad Rodrigo.

August, 1811. Wellington besieged Ciudad Rodrigo, but was compelled to retire into Portugal owing to the pressure of a French army of 60,000 men under Marmont at Salamanca.

By the end of 1811 the French advance was checked. Although they had 300,000 men in Spain, the persistence of the Spanish guerrillas and the need of strongly garrisoning the provinces they had conquered prevented them from concentrating more than 70,000 men against Wellington.

B. Madrid, 1812.

[January 9th, 1812. Soult, who had recently taken Tarragona, captured Valencia.]

(1) Capture of Badajoz and Ciudad Rodrigo.

Wellington took Ciudad Rodrigo on January 19th, 1812, and Badajoz on April 6th; the successive successes of the British soldiers greatly assisted these successes. Wellington could now advance into Spain.

(2) Salamanca.

July 22nd, 1812. Wellington routed Marmont at Salamanca. This victory enabled Wellington to enter Madrid on August 12th, compelled Soult to evacuate Andalusia and to raise the siege of Cadiz; delivered Lorca and Cartagena from the French.

(3) Wellington's retreat.

September 12th-October 2nd, 1812. Failure of Wellington to take Burgos. The union of the armies of Soult, King Joseph and Stcher at Valencia compelled Wellington to withdraw into Portugal.

IV. Wellington's Successful Advance.⁴ 1813.

Wellington's position was now greatly improved owing to Napoleon's Russian campaign¹ which caused him to withdraw from Spain large forces of veterans who were repelled by conscription, to the great improvement in the Spanish and Portuguese armies and to the steady support of Lord Liverpool, who became Prime Minister in June, 1812.

A. The Campaign of Vittoria.

The activity of the Spanish guerrillas had compelled the French to weaken their line, which extended from Salamanca to Toledo. Wellington, having secretly sent Graham to turn the right flank of the French, advanced himself from Ciudad Rodrigo. largely owing to the pressure on his right, King Joseph fell back from Salamanca and Burgos and was cut off from the road to Bayonne, his best line of retreat.

June 21st, 1813. Wellington utterly routed Joseph and Isardin at Vittoria.

By this victory the British gained the whole equipment of the army of Spain and Joseph's state carriage containing very valuable spoil; the French evacuated Central Spain; Stcher evacuated Valencia and Tarragona; Joseph gave up his attempt to recover the Crown of Spain and retreated through Pamplona.

B. The Campaign of the Pyrenees, 1813-1814.

(1) Capture of the border fortresses.

Wellington now determined to besiege France, which was protected by the fortresses of Pamplona and St.

⁴ Page 625.

Sebastián. The gallant resistance of these two fortresses held up Wellington's advance for four months.

August 21st, 1812. Capture of St. Sebastián.

October 31st, 1812. Pamplona surrendered owing to starvation.

(2) The battles of Nivelle.

Boult now suspended Jordan and made Bayonne his base.

October 7th, 1812. Wellington forced the line of the Bidassoa.

November 10th, 1812. Wellington crossed the line of the Nivelle.

December 9th, 1812. Wellington forced the passage of the Nive and threatened Bayonne. Soult was now weakened by the despatch of 10,000 men to defend the eastern frontier of France. He fell back not on Bayonne but towards Toulouse, hoping to turn Wellington's right flank.

February 27th, 1813. Wellington defeated Soult at Orthez. Surrender of Bayonne.

(3) Toulouse.

April 10th, 1814. Wellington defeated Soult at Toulouse.

V. General

A. The French.

(1) The French required enormous armies to maintain their lines of communication, hold conquests and replace losses. After 1811 many veteran soldiers were recalled from Spain to take part in Napoleon's eastern campaigns.

(2) Their cause was weakened by quarrels between generals, between Soult and Ney and between Soult and Masséna.

- (2) The French could not live on the country owing to its poverty ; their supplies were continually cut off by guerrillas ; starvation compelled Victor to retire from Extremadura in 1809, and Massena to evacuate Portugal in 1811.
- (3) The movements of the French armies were impeded by their enormous baggage trains ; the British captured several thousand carriage-laden with valuables at Vittoria.

B. The British.

- (1) Portugal formed an excellent base, and the command of the sea enabled the easy despatch of reinforcements and supplies.
- (2) Their shooting was better than that of the French, and British soldiers proved far more steady than the French in battle.
- (3) The Spanish regiments proved at first unreliable, especially at Talavera. The Portuguese, after gaining confidence in Wellington, fought well ; they rendered efficient help as early as Busaco in 1810 ; the Spanish troops improved after 1813 owing to the better discipline Wellington enforced.
- (4) The Spanish guerrillas rendered very valuable service and engaged the attention of large numbers of French soldiers who might otherwise have served against Wellington. The operations of the guerrillas were facilitated by the fact that mountain chains barred the roads from North to South, by the bad state of the roads and by the rivers which hampered the French armies.

C. Europe.

The Peninsular War had important effects on Europe.

- (1) The risings in Spain and Portugal were the first

instances of national opposition to Napoleon, who found "that a whole people is more powerful than disciplined armies." The example of Spain and Portugal stimulated national opposition in other countries, particularly Prussia and Austria.

- (2) The war proved a "running sore" to Napoleon and prevented him from using all his troops in the War of Liberation.¹ If Napoleon had been able to use in Germany in 1813 the 200,000 soldiers who were serving in Spain he might actually have gained the victory that he barely missed, and compelled the Allies to agree to a peace that left his territory undivided.

References:

- Cambridge Modern History*, Vol. IX, chap. xv.
English Men of Action. Wellington. Chaps. v-vii.
The Political History of England, 1801-37 (Longmans), chap. v.
The Peninsular War (Sir Charles Oman).

THE RUSSIAN INVASION, 1812

I. Differences between Napoleon and Alexander.

The friendship between Alexander and Napoleon which had been established at Tilsit in 1807 and confirmed at Erfurt in 1808 was strained by the nobility and the Dvortsov Express. It had been impaired by the refusal of Napoleon in 1809² to agree to the acquisition of Constantinople by Russia, and various causes led to war.

A. Poland.

Alexander feared that the establishment of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw might lead to the revival of the Kingdom of Poland, to which he might be compelled to restore the provinces Russia had annexed by the

¹ Page 814.

² Page 493, n. 1.

Partition of Poland. He strongly objected to the substantial addition made to the Grand Duchy by the Treaty of Vienna, 1815. He was annoyed, too, by Napoleon's refusal in 1808 to promise that the Kingdom of Poland should never be re-established.

B. The Austria War, 1809.

Napoleon complained that Alexander had sent only 10,000 men to help him against Austria and that these had arrived too late to be of much use.

C. Oldenburg.

1810. Alexander was very angry at the dismemberment of his brother-in-law the Duke of Oldenburg and the incorporation of his Duchy in the French Empire.

D. Napoleon's marriage.

The Empress Dowager refused to give her daughter, the Grand Duchess Anna, to Napoleon, who was much affected by her refusal.

April, 1810. Napoleon married the Archduchess Marie Louise, daughter of the Emperor Francis I.

E. The Continental System.

Napoleon was angry because Alexander relaxed the embargo on British goods owing to the grave injury it inflicted on Russian trade. Napoleon hoped to conquer Russia and finally to ruin British commerce by capturing it from Russian ports. He hoped to become master of all Europe and spoke of "throwing Russia into Asia."

II. Other Nations.

A. Prussia and Austria.

Prussia and Austria, lying between the combatants, could not remain neutral.

Hohenlohe failed to secure a promise that Russia would attack Prussia against France. On February

24th, 1812, Prussia undertook to give supplies to French armies marching to Russia and to furnish 30,000 men. Consequent resignation of Schleswig-Holstein and Oldenburg, who favoured war with France.

The family relation between Napoleon and Prussia I won for France the support of Austria; Napoleon promised to restore Illyria to Austria.

B. Sweden.

- (1) Bernadotte, now Prince Royal of Sweden, resented the injury done to Swedish trade by the Continental System.
- (2) January, 1812. Napoleon seized Swedish Pomerania.
- (3) April 9th, 1812. Alliance of Sweden and Russia. The Treaty of Åbo. Sweden agreed to cede Finland to Russia and to supply 30,000 men to co-operate with Russia; Russia agreed to help Sweden to secure Norway.

Thus Bernadotte abandoned the interests of his new country instead of those of his old master.

C. Turkey.

Turkey was at war with Russia, which hoped to secure Moldavia and Wallachia in accordance with the Treaty of Tilsit.¹ Napoleon therefore expected to secure the aid of Turkey against Russia.

May 29th, 1812. Alexander made the Treaty of Bucharest with Turkey and received only Bessarabia.

D. Great Britain.

Dartmouth, who became Foreign Minister in February, 1812, strongly supported Wellington in the Peninsular War and tried to stir up the sovereigns of Europe to oppose Napoleon. He approached Alexander I through Bernadotte, and on July 1st, 1812, a treaty was signed at Örebro between Sweden, Russia and Great Britain. Great Britain promised to subdue Russia, and Alexander gave the Cronstadt fleet for safe keeping to Britain.

¹ Page 455.

Great Britain acted as mediator between Russia and Turkey, and British diplomacy assisted to obtain the Treaty of Bucharest.

Thus Great Britain succeeded in frustrating Napoleon's hope that Russia and Turkey would help him in attacking Russia.

III. The Invasion of Russia.

A. Strength of Napoleon's army.

The total strength of Napoleon's army was 650,000, of whom about half were French; the number that crossed the Niemen on June 24th, 1812, was 450,000. Napoleon was in poor health, his mental power was diminished and he could not properly direct the operations of his vast force.

B. Plan of campaign.

(1) Disposition of Napoleon's army.

Napoleon had an army of 20,000 men, including the Prussians, at Tilsit; he commanded the central army of 350,000 men; the Austrians, under Schwarzenberg, were in Galicia.

(2) The Russian forces.

The total Russian forces available numbered 200,000 men, though they expected reinforcements from the troops which had been fighting Turkey. Two armies, one of 100,000 men under the command of Barclay de Tolly, one of 80,000 under Prince Bagration, opposed the French central army, while a smaller force faced Schwarzenberg.

(3) Napoleon wished to attack the Russians at once. But progress was hampered by bad roads and by the breakdown of transports, and, although the Russian Poles were friendly, Napoleon had lost 35,000 men by sickness or desertion before he reached Wilna. The delay proved fatal to his schemes; the Russians fell back and avoided battle.

June 28th, 1812. Napoleon entered Wilno, the capital of Russian Poland, which the Russians had just evacuated. He had to wait three weeks to rest his army, but the delay was a serious military error.

C. The march to Smolensk.

(1) Russian strategy.

Alexander ordered Barclay and Bagration to meet and fight Napoleon at Drissa, but Bagration did not appear and Barclay continued his retreat to Smolensk, where Bagration joined him on August 6th, 1812. The Russians clamoured for battle, but Barclay, realising that his retreat had inflicted great loss on Napoleon without injury to himself, ordered his troops to retire towards Moscow and left only 25,000 men to hold Smolensk and protect the retreat.

(2) Napoleon at Smolensk.

August 18th, 1812. Napoleon entered Smolensk, which he found deserted and in ruins. He had now lost 100,000 men. He ought to have remained at Smolensk for the winter but foolishly resolved to press on to Moscow, hoping that the capture of Moscow would compel Alexander to submit. The Russian peasants were bitterly hostile and devastated the country through which Napoleon's route lay. "Every day's march carried from Smolensk cost the French three thousand men."

D. Moscow.

Alexander appointed Kutusov as commander in place of Barclay, who was not a Russian, but a Lituanian, and whose refusal to fight a pitched battle was resented by the Russians.

(1) Borodino, September, 1812.

September 7th, 1812. In this sanguinary battle the total losses of both sides approached 60,000 men.

Neither side secured a decisive victory, but the Russians retreated and the French continued their march.

(3) Moscow, September 14th–October 18th, 1812.

September 14th, 1812. The French entered Moscow, which its inhabitants had evacuated the day before. After lasting three days and three nights, and due possibly to the orders of the governor, Count Bessopshchik, consumed three-fifths of the city. Napoleon found that Alexander did not absent in spite of the loss of Moscow, and the digits of the inhabitants deprived him of the means of securing supplies. In spite of the approach of winter he remained in Moscow, hoping that Alexander would come to terms.

B. The Retreat from Moscow.

(1) Muia-Yasovlaretz.

The defeat of Blain by the Russians on October 18th hastened Napoleon's departure and he left Moscow the same day. He had about 100,000 men left, including recent reinforcements. To avoid marching along the line of his advance which his troops had despoiled of supplies, Napoleon proposed to march on Kaluga and through the valley of the Ugra, which lay to the south of his previous route.

October 24th, 1812. The Russians were defeated at Muia-Yasovlaretz, but succeeded in halting the road to Kaluga and forcing Napoleon to follow the wasted road by which he had advanced.

(2) The difficulties of the retreat.

With the exception of the Guards, the soldiers, laden with booty, observed no discipline, and the "French host resembled a horde of nomads rather than an army." Heavy snow fell; the low temperature of November 9th, when there were thirty-seven degrees of frost, led to the death of many men and horses and

the abandonment of most of the transports. The soldiers were inadequately clad and compelled to live as horseflesh. Kutuzov, whose army followed by a parallel road, avoided battle, but Cossacks inflicted many casualties and cut off supplies. The approach of new Russian armies from the Danube and the Baltic added to Napoleon's dangers.

(3) The line of march.

November 3rd, 1812. The French reached Smolensk, where many failed to find the supplies they needed.

November 17th, 1812. Kutuzov, having allowed Napoleon and his Guards to pass, routed the French near at Krasnoi in spite of the efforts of Ney, "the bravest of the brave." Ney joined Napoleon with about eight hundred survivors of the six thousand who composed his rearguard.

November 30th, 1812. Napoleon with great skill crossed the Berezina, but lost half of the 40,000 men who remained.

December 10th, 1812. Owing to the intense cold, which fell to forty-five degrees of frost, and to the attacks of Russian light cavalry, Napoleon's own force was reduced to 1500 men.

December 20th, 1812. Napoleon, hearing of Blücher's conspiracy, left for Paris. His despatch was strongly resisted by the troops.

December 13th, 1812. The French crossed the Niemen and the Russian pursuit stopped. Out of 400,000 who had crossed the river with Napoleon in June and 100,000 who had reinforced the army during its retreat, only about 20,000 remained in December. "The fourth corps d'armée of 40,000 men at last took up its quarters in one town!"¹

V. General.

(1) Causes of Napoleon's failure.

The main cause of Napoleon's failure was his grave

¹ *Modern Europe*, Dyer and Eason, Vol. V, page 418.

strategic mistake in trying to finish in one year a campaign for which two were essential, and his worst error was the continuation of his march from Smolensk to Moscow. The intense cold and the national rising of Russia made his failure more complete.²

(2) *Results.*

The Russian campaign gravely injured Napoleon's reputation and encouraged the nations, and particularly Prussia, to rise against him in the War of Liberation. But Napoleon's military power, though weakened, was not annihilated; Kutuzov's blunder in allowing him and the best part of his army to escape at Krasnoi and the new allies Napoleon was able to raise in France were soon to lead to European war.

References:

- Revolutionary Europe* (Mme Stephen), Buryington, pp. 305-326.
Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, chap. xxx.
Life of Napoleon I (Ross), Bell and Sons.

THE WAR OF LIBERATION TO THE BATTLE OF LEIPZIG, MARCH-OCTOBER, 1813

I. PRUSSIA DECLARS WAR ON FRANCE.

The retreat from Moscow led to the rising of the Prussian nation against France. Prussia was hampered by poverty; the reorganisation commenced by Scharnhorst had been discontinued after he resigned; Frederick William III was too weak to give his subjects a strong lead and was afraid of Napoleon. But the people had gained moral power as the result of suffering and were determined to fight for their liberty. Scharnhorst and Clausewitz returned to office.

² See also page 512, III. A.

A. General von York.

(1) The Convention of Tauroggen, December, 1812.

York commanded the Prussian contingent of 70,000 men which had joined MacDonald's army in accordance with the agreement of February, 1812.¹

December 28th, 1812. York, of his own accord, concluded with the Russians the Convention of Tauroggen by which he agreed to remain neutral and to take no steps to prevent the Russian pursuit of the retreating French. York disclosed Frederick William's earnestness to agree the Convention, as the result of which MacDonald was compelled to evacuate Königsberg.

(2) The rising of East Prussia.

January, 1813. Stein, now adviser of Alexander I., summoned the Estates of East Prussia, which were induced by York, who advocated war with France, to decide on a general levy of the population. The nation, and not the King, began the War of Liberation.

B. The Treaty at Kalisch, February, 1813.

(1) Frederick William III.

Yorck's action, and the rising in East Prussia forced Frederick William's hand.

January 22nd, 1813. The King left Berlin, which the French occupied, for Heiligen, where he could easily communicate with Alexander.

February 3d, 1813. The King issued an edict calling all Prussians to arms. Formation of the Landwehr.

(2) The Treaty of Kalisch.

Some Russians were unwilling to continue the war owing to their heavy losses and the fact that Russia had been substantially defeated. Alexander determined, largely owing to the influence of Stein, to form a European coalition against Napoleon.

¹ Page 412.

February 23rd, 1813. By the Treaty of Kalisch, Russia and Prussia made an alliance against France, and Alexander promised that Frederick William should receive back all the territory he had lost since 1806. German princes who refused to fight the French were to be deposed.

March 17th, 1813. Frederick William III declared war on France. Owing to lack of arms and money he had only 30,000 men ready for immediate service, but volunteers poured in and large forces would be soon available.

II. The Retreat of the French.

A. Eugène retreats to the Elbe.

The Russian advance drove the French back.

February, 1813. Eugène de Beauharnais, who had succeeded Mérat as commander of the French, evacuated the line of the Oder, leaving garrisons in Silesia, Austria and Bohemia.

March 4th, 1813. The French retired from Berlin, which the Russians entered.

March 18th, 1813. The French abandoned Hamburg. Eugène took up a position on the Elbe and, by Napoleon's orders, massed his main body around Magdeburg and Dresden.

B. Sweden joins the Allies.

Owing to the French retreat Bernadotte joined the Allies and led a Swedish army of 12,000 men into Germany. He expected, with the help of the Allies, to secure Norway and may have hoped to succeed Napoleon as King of France.

III. The First Campaign of 1813.

A. Napoleon's preparations.

In spite of the failure of the Russian campaign the Legislative Body received Napoleon with its usual servile

ambition. He extricated the danger by effecting a reconciliation with Pope VII.; made the Empress Marie Louise Regent; counsel France with the plea that the country was in danger.

Napoleon was stronger than his adversaries. Only, the Confederation of the Rhine, Saxony and Bavaria remained faithful.¹ Although France longed for peace, Napoleon by a new conscription added 300,000² to the French army. Although many of the conscripts were too young to stand the strain of the campaign, Napoleon's infantry was excellent; his artillery was good, but his cavalry, at first only 18,000 men, was inadequate and there was a great scarcity of good officers.

Austria refused to join in the war and remained neutral.

B. The plan of campaign.

(1) The Allies.

a. The right.

The right wing, commanded by Blücher, with York and Döllw., consisted of Prussia, East Prussia and Silesia and was to advance on Magdeburg.

b. The centre.

The centre was led by Schwarzenberg. His illness and death delayed its advance.

c. The left.

The left, or Saxon army, consisting of Prussia and Saxony, was under the command of Blücher and was to march against Dresden in the hope of winning Saxony from the French. Blücher entered Dresden in March, 1813, but finding the Saxons unwilling to rise against Napoleon marched westward to Leipzig, where he waited for Reichenbach.

¹ Dyre and Esquert, Vol. V, page 616.

The Allies resolved to fight Napoleon near Leipzig, where the flat country would enable them to make a good use of their cavalry.

(3) The French.

Napoleon reached Erfurt on April 25th, 1813, and took command of all his forces. The French line extended from Hamburg and Lübeck to Vienna and Venice.

Say's army lay on the lower Main, and Eugene's near Magdeburg, while a force of 40,000 Italians and Bavarians was marching north from Coburg. These forces, which numbered 140,000 men, were to fight the army of the Allies, which numbered about 80,000.

C. Dresden or Gross-Görschen, May, 1813.

May 2nd, 1813. Napoleon defeated Wittgenstein¹ and Blücher at Lützen, where Scharnhorst was killed. The Allies fell back in good order to Dresden. Napoleon entered Dresden on May 14th, having saved Saxony by his victory.

D. Bautzen.

May 20th. Napoleon defeated Wittgenstein at Bautzen; but the Allies, protected by their strong cavalry, retreated without losing a gun.

(May 30th, 1813. The French, under Davout, recovered Hamburg.)

E. The Armistice of Plesswitz, June, 1813.

If Napoleon had pursued his pursuit of the Allies he would probably have won the war, for the Allies were dispirited by their defeats and long retreat and suffering severely from privation due to lack of supplies; the Russian and Prussian commanders were continually quarrelling, and the Allies seemed likely to be driven into central territory.

¹ Who had succeeded Eschwege.

But Napoleon's marshals were anxious for peace ; he had lost more men than the Allies ; he had used up his ammunition and his supplies were running short. He needed to strengthen his cavalry, and he feared that Austria, whose strength he overestimated, would turn against him.

June 1st, 1813. Napoleon made the Armistice of Pleissen with the Allies. The armistice lasted seven weeks and was one of the greatest of Napoleon's errors. It gave time for the Allies to regain steadiness and to receive large reinforcements from Prussia and Russia.

IV. Austria Joins the Allies.

A. Metternich's views.

The views of Austria did not coincide with those of the Allies. Metternich was not averse to deterring Napoleon, the son-in-law of the Emperor Francis I ; he did not wish Russia, the old rival of Austria, to become too strong ; he feared that Prussia, if victorious, might become the leader of Germany and regarded the re-establishing in Prussia as revolutionary. He wished to establish a new system in which neither Russia nor France should be too strong and to use his opportunity to regain for Austria the provinces lost in 1806.¹

Napoleon tried to win over Austria by promising to restore not only the Illyrian provinces, but Silesia, which Frederick the Great had taken from her. The Emperor refused his offer.

B. The Treaty of Reichshof, June, 1813.

(i) Terms.

June 29th, 1813. By the Treaty of Reichshof Russia, Prussia and Austria agreed that the Grand Duchy of Warsaw and the Confederation of the Rhine should be abolished ; that Austria should receive Illyria ; that Prussia should receive all territory she

¹ Page 311.

had lost since 1806; that France should restore the North German territory she had taken in 1810. If Napoleon refused these terms Austria would declare war on him.

(2) Criticism.

The Treaty shows that Bonaparte's plan for a national union of Germany had been rejected. "The outbreak of the war changed from a national uprising to a coalition of the usual type."¹

(3) The Congress of Prague.

July 15th-August 10th, 1813. At the Congress of Prague Napoleon's representative, Caulaincourt, refused these terms which would have left to Napoleon Italy, Belgium, the Rhine frontier and the Protectorate of Western Germany.

August 15th, 1813. Austria declared war.

V. The Second Campaign of 1813.

A. The aim of the Allies.

Three armies were organised: the northern army under Bernadotte in Prussia; the main army in Bohemia under Schwarzenberg; the Silesian army under Blücher. A fourth army, "The Army of Poland," was being formed by Wellington. The three armies already in the field were to converge upon Dresden. They were to attack only if superior in numbers; there was threatened by a larger French force if they were to fall back.

B. Napoleon's plan failed.

Napoleon, who had about 400,000 men to oppose about 600,000, determined to attack the three armies separately before they could unite.

August 21st, 1813. Bernadotte defeated Oudinot at Gross Beeren and saved Berlin.

¹ Mrs. Stephen.

August 25th, 1813. Blücher defeated MacDonald at Katzbach and drove the French out of Silesia.

C. Dresden, Kulm and Dresowitz, 1813.

(i) Dresden.

August 26th-27th, 1813. Schwarzenberg's main army attacked the French at Dresden without waiting for the other armies and was sharply routed by Napoleon.

(ii) Kulm.

August 30th, 1813. Vandamme, who was trying to cut Schwarzenberg's communications in Bohemia, was routed by the Russians under Barclay at Kulm. Schwarzenberg was saved from pursuit.

(iii) Dresowitz.

September 6th, 1813. Ney, striking at Berlin, was routed by Bernadotte and Buloz at Dresowitz.

The importance of the disaster of Dresden was diminished by the victories of Kulm and Dresowitz; Napoleon had failed to break away from his defensive position; the ring of allied armies began to close round him at Leipzig; he had lost nearly 180,000 men between August 18th and 30th and had only 180,000 men to oppose 450,000.

D. The Treaties of Teplice and Ried.

September 26th, 1813. By the Treaty of Teplice Austria, Prussia and Russia agreed that the Confederation of the Rhine should be dissolved, all the territories they had held since 1806 should be restored to Austria and Prussia, and the states of Southern and Western Germany should be recognised as independent.

October 5th, 1813. By the Treaty of Ried the Allies undertook to recognise the sovereign rights of the King of Bavaria, who was to give up the Tyrol to Austria. The King joined the Allies and sent a Bavarian force under General Wrede towards the Rhine.

Thus the position of the Allies was strengthened, but the union of Germany rendered more difficult.

B. The Battle of Leipzig, October 16th-19th, 1813.

Blücher crossed the Elbe at Wittenburg on October 3rd and effected a junction with Bernadotte on October 7th; Napoleon, who had hoped to make use of his inner lines to defeat the Allies separately, was obliged to fall back on Leipzig and fight a defensive battle against Blücher and Schwarzenberg, who attacked from the north and south respectively.

From the strategical point of view Blücher's success in forcing the line of the Elbe was the most eventful action of the campaign.

October 16th. Napoleon repulsed Schwarzenberg, but Blücher routed Marmont at Böckau.

October 17th. The Army of Poland under Bennigsen joined the Allies.

October 18th. The Saxons and Württembergers deserted Napoleon and joined the Allies. The French fought bravely against vastly superior forces, but lost so heavily that they were driven back.

October 19th. The Allies stormed Leipzig.

The remains of Napoleon's army routed at Hanau the Bavarians who, on October 20th, tried to cut off their retreat and on November 2nd crossed the Rhine at Mainz. In the "Battle of the Nations" Napoleon lost 70,000 men, including 30,000 prisoners, and the Allies had 54,000 casualties.

"Within a little more than a year, two French armies, amounting to nearly a million of men, had perished."

References (see page 536).

THE WAR OF LIBERATION. THE ALLIES INVADE FRANCE

L. Events after the Battle of Leipzig.

A. General rising against Napoleon.

The battle of Leipzig was followed by a general rising

against Napoleon. Blücher went to help the Dutch, who under the Prince of Orange, rose against the French; Lord William Bentinck sailed with a British force from Sicily to help the Germans; the Austrians routed Eugene de Beauharnais at Valmy in Northern Italy on October 21st; the Princes of the Rhine joined the Allies and descended from Westphalia.

A. The Conditions of Frankfort, November, 1813.

But Austria was unwilling to sacrifice more men and money to secure the overthrow of Napoleon, which might unduly strengthen Russia and Prussia; Bonaparte was unwilling to offend France; Frederick William III was determined peace. Although Alexander was anxious to invade France to revenge for Napoleon's attack on Moscow and Blücher, Castlereagh and the British Government strongly supported him, the wishes of the Allies needed rest.

November 9th, 1813. Mainly owing to Metternich the Allies offered at Frankfort to make peace with Napoleon if he would surrender all France had won beyond the Rhine, Alps and Pyrenees. Napoleon refused the offer, which would have left Belgium, Nice and Savoy as French possessions.

II. The Invasion of France.

Napoleon's refusal to accept the terms offered at Frankfort led to the invasion of France. Great Britain had helped the Allies with subsidies; she had always aimed at excluding the French from the Belgian Netherlands and strongly resented the proposed cession of Belgium and Anwerp to France. On December 21st, 1813, Castlereagh was sent to the Allies with absolute power, and his arrival strengthened the opposition to Napoleon.

A. Napoleon's difficulties.

Napoleon was in difficulties. He had lost the support

of the Prince of the Rhine; he had brought back only 70,000 out of the 400,000 men who had recently fought in Germany; he had left in Germany about 150,000 veteran soldiers to garrison the fortresses the French held; he lacked arms and ammunition; his marshals had disappoointed him.

The French were weary of war, and now conscription, many of them boys of sixteen, came in slowly. The French were becoming unwilling to support the Empire, which had substituted for the principles of the Revolution, the tyranny of one man and had suppressed individual liberty. The Legislative Body, hitherto subservient, passed a resolution on December 29th, 1813, imploring Napoleon "to set to the contest and effectual execution of those laws by which liberty, personal security and the rights of private property are assured to every Frenchman, and to the nation at large the unfeigned exercise of its political rights."

B. The plan of the Allies.

Part of Bernadotte's army was to march into Holland and invade France from the North; Blücher's Army of Silesia was to cross the Rhine about Mainz and march on Paris. The Austrian army under Schwarzenberg was to march through Switzerland, thus turning the Jura mountains and avoiding the French fortresses on the Rhine, to unite with the Army of Italy and with Wellington (who had passed the Alps) and was threatening Bayonne to cut off the plateau of Languedoc in Champagne and then march on Paris.

December 31st 1813. Blücher crossed the Rhine with the Army of Silesia, the main Prussian army.

January 18th, 1814. Schwarzenberg reached Langres.

[January 14th, 1814. By the Peace of Kiel, Denmark ceded Norway to Sweden in exchange for Swedish Pomerania.]

III. The First Campaign of 1814.

Napoleon, with about 60,000 troops, fought a brilliant campaign against vastly superior forces. The unexpected advance of the Allies in the winter compelled him to abandon the French frontier; he concentrated his forces in Champagne between the armies of Blücher and Schwarzenberg, used the rivers Marne, Seine and Aisne to cover his movements, and by mass, skillful and rapid maneuvering inflicted a number of defeats on the armies of Blücher and Schwarzenberg.

A. Napoleon's victories.

(1) Blücher.

January 29th-February 1st, 1814. Napoleon defeated Blücher's army at Brienne, was heavily defeated by Blücher at La Rothière, won battles at Champaubert, Montmirail and Tucquegnieux.

The Army of Hesse was broken up. It failed partly because Blücher unwisely scattered his forces in Champagne, partly because Schwarzenberg did not render him efficient help.

(2) Schwarzenberg.

Schwarzenberg moved slowly and, believing that Napoleon was finally defeated at La Rothière, refused to pursue him. But he was compelled to advance to save Blücher's army from annihilation.

February 18th, 1814. Napoleon routed Schwarzenberg at Montereau. Schwarzenberg retreated, but a victory gained by Blücher over Mackowi at Stenay compelled Napoleon, who became anxious for the safety of Paris, to give up the pursuit of Schwarzenberg.

B. The Congress of Coblenz.

(1) Differences among the Allies.

Severe differences had arisen between the Americans, who feared that the overthrow of Napoleon might

led to the extension of Russian power in Poland, and Alexander, who was determined to take revenge on Napoleon. The test of Catinat's foresight about the Congress of Châtillon, which first met on February 5th, 1814.

(ii) Terms.

The Allies had found that the French, even Napoleon's pacifists, were anxious for peace; their invasion had proved unsuccessful and Wellington was threatening Bayonne. They now offered less favourable terms than at Friedland and demanded, as a condition of peace, that France should be limited to the boundaries of 1791; this involved the surrender of Belgium, Savoy, Nice and the left bank of the Rhine.

Owing to his recent successes, and particularly his victory at Montebello, Napoleon, who especially resented the proposed cession of Belgium, ordered Caulaincourt to refuse the terms.

IV. The Second Campaign of 1814.

A. The Treaty of Chaumont.

Schwarzenberg was so terrified by Napoleon's success that he wished to withdraw the Austrians from France. But Alexander and Frederick William insisted on the continuance of the war, and, again owing to Caulaincourt's influence, the Allies made the Treaty of Chaumont on March 1st, 1814. By this Great Britain, Austria, Prussia and Russia agreed each to provide 180,000 men, while Great Britain also gave to the other three parties a subsidy of £3,000,000 a year. No one of the Allies was to make a separate peace with Napoleon, and the war was to continue until France was reduced to the boundaries of 1791.

B. The Campaign.

The Allies now determined to attack Paris. Blücher advancing along the Marne and Schwarzenberg along the Seine.

(I) Blücher.

Blücher and the Russian general Wintzingerode had helped to drive the French from Holland when Castelnau ordered them to march north to reinforce Blücher's Silesian army, which had been reduced by several defeats from 80,000 to 30,000 men. Blücher, hard pressed by the French, fell back to meet these reinforcements.

March 7th, 1814. Napoleon defeated Blücher's vanguard at Cravate.

March 10th, 1814. Blücher had now concentrated all his forces and defeated Napoleon at Lavaur.

(II) Schwarzenberg.

Napoleon having failed to check the Prussian army marched south against Schwarzenberg.

March 20th, 1814. Schwarzenberg crossed Napoleon at Arcis-sur-Arcole. Napoleon, thinking Schwarzenberg too strong for another frontal attack, now marched to Schwarzenberg's rear, hoping with the help of the frontier garrisons and Augereau's army at Lyons, to cut the Austrian communications and perhaps to invade Germany.

(III) The Allies capture Paris.

Schwarzenberg and Blücher, in spite of the threat to their rear, realising that the capture of Paris would mean the overthrow of Napoleon, pushed on to Paris.

March 30th, 1814. Defeat of Marceau and Mortier in the suburbs of Paris.

March 31st, 1814. Alexander and Frederick William entered Paris. Napoleon, on learning that the Allies were marching on Paris, had hurried after them, but failed to catch them. He wished to continue the war, but his marshals refused to support him, and Marceau put his army at the disposal of the Provisional Government which had been set up with Talleyrand as President.

April 6th, 1814. Napoleon abdicated and made with the Allies the Treaty of Fontainebleau, by which he renounced for himself and his son all claims to the crowns of Italy and Austria; in return for the Imperial title, a pension of 2,000,000 francs, the Principality of Illyria, the grand-duchy of the Duchies of Parma and Piacenza to Marie Louise¹ with succession to her son.

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THE RESTORATION OF LOUIS XVIII AND THE HUNDRED DAYS

I. The Return of Louis XVIII.²

Talleyrand supported the restoration of Louis XVIII, partly on the ground that the Bourbons were the legitimate successors of France, partly because he felt that a regency would lead to the early return of Napoleon. He assured the support of Alexander I, and the Comte d'Artois assured him that Louis would accept the new Constitution made by the Senate on April 6th, 1814.

A. Louis XVIII.

May 1st, 1814. Louis XVIII entered Paris surrounded by his niece the Duchess d'Angoulême, the daughter of Louis XVI.

Louis had lived for some time in exile at Hartwell in Buckinghamshire. He was a studious, tactful man of kindly disposition; he had taken no share in the wild excesses of the regime; his indolence and corpulence

¹ The title of Louis XVIII was given to the Dauphin, who died a prisoner in the Temple, June 19th, 1795.

made him averse from violent effort; he regarded himself as King by divine right but was willing, as an act of royal grace, to grant to his people constitutional privilages. The Duchesse d'Angoulême, who had been ambushed by the tragedy of her youth, cheered by her姐姐's address the enthusiasm her return to Paris had inspired.

B. The First Treaty of Paris, May, 1814.

May 26th, 1814. The Treaty of Paris made between the Allies and the representatives of France provided—

- (1) That France should be allowed to retain the treasures of art which Napoleon had acquired and should be limited to the frontier of 1792, with the addition of Montbéliard, Arignac, Chambéry and Aixey.
- France thus surrendered the left bank of the Rhine, Belgium and all the territory she had gained in Italy, Germany, Holland and Switzerland.
- (2) Great Britain returned most of the colonies she had recently gained, but kept Malta, Trincomalee, St. Lucia and the Isle of France.
 - (3) Switzerland was to be independent.
 - (4) Belgium was to be united to Holland, of which the House of Orange were to be sovereign.
- Thus the old policy of Great Britain was resurrected and the Netherlands again became a barrier against French aggression.
- (5) Germany was to become a federation of independent states. This clause would prevent both the revival of the Empire and the realization of Stein's plan of forming a united Germany.
 - (6) Italy was to consist of independent states extending territory to be ceded to Austria.

(7) Secret clauses.

The Allies, without reference to France, agreed that Austria should receive Venetia and Sicilian Greece.

(8) The final settlement of Europe was to be made at a Congress to be held shortly at Vienna.

C. The Charter, June, 1814.

June 4th, 1814. Louis XVIII refused to accept the Constitution drawn up by the Senate, but "granted" a Charter which provided for the establishment of a House of hereditary Peers nominated by the King, and a Chamber of Deputies ; the right of initiative and legislation was vested in the Crown, but the consent of the Deputies was necessary for taxation ; freedom of worship was accorded to all ; the land settlement of the Revolution was maintained ; the liberty of the press, subject to penalties for abuse, was asserted ; the jury system was to be retained and the judges were to be independent.

Thus the advantages secured by the Revolution were secured by royal favour, but the idea that Monarchy was a contract between King and People was repudiated.

II. The Return of Napoleon.

A. Growing unpopularity of Louis XVIII.

Although the majority of the people approved in the return of Louis, he had failed to win their enthusiastic support, and there was a general feeling that the glory of France was gone. France bitterly resented the loss of Belgium and other conquered territories. The financial problem was difficult ; there was a deficit of over 600,000 francs, France was impoverished and the taxable area had diminished. But Baron Louis adopted a wise and successful financial policy, and the King might have kept his throne but for the *Armée*, more popular than the King, who, led by the Count d'Artois, tried to strengthen their position by administrative changes and,

in the more extreme cases, advocated the abolition of the Revolutionary settlement and a return to the Ancien Régime.

(i) The Army.

a. The restoration of the White Cockade.

Great indignation was caused by the substitution of the White Cockade for the Tricolor, under which so many great victories had been won.

b. The Household Corps.

The Household Corps of the Bourbons was revived, and in it many young royalists obtained good positions and high pay. This arrangement alienated the Imperial Guard, whose status was reduced, and exhibited many of Napoleon's veterans who had been placed on half-pay, often to make room for a returned émigré.

c. The restoration of the Order of St. Louis for the Legions of Honour as the sole military order; the addition of another foreign regiment at a time when the number of French soldiers was being reduced; the proposed suppression of schools for soldiers' daughters and of the military schools of St. Cyr and St. Germain; the appointment as Minister of War of General Dupont, who had surrendered at Baylen;¹ added to the growing discontent.

(ii) The Church.

Ordinances were issued prohibiting all work on Sundays and Church festivals, and authorizing religious processions which had been forbidden by law. These ordinances, which were withdrawn under popular pressure, were regarded as an attempt to violate, in favour of the Roman Catholic Church, the religious toleration granted by the Charter.

¹ Page 409.

(3) The Government and the Charter.

A feeling grew that the Government was not loyal to the Charter. A scheme for the censorship of the press led to violent opposition; it was believed that the Government meant to evict peasant-holders of property in favour of the *bigots* to whose families it had formerly belonged; a flood of pamphlets aggravated the growing unrest.

B. Napoleon's return, March, 1815.

(1) Landing of Napoleon.

Napoleon knew of the increasing unpopularity of the Bourbons and thought that differences between the Powers would soon lead to the dissolution of the Congress of Vienna. Without any preliminary plot he landed near Cannes on March 1st, 1815. The beginning of "The Hundred Days."

(2) The march to Paris.

Avoiding the coast road owing to the strong Royalist sympathies of Toulon and Marseilles, he marched north through Dauphine, where he was welcomed by the peasants, who feared that the Bourbons would make them restore the lands which had once belonged to the Church. Royal troops which had been sent to stop him joined his army.

March 9th, 1815. Napoleon entered Grenoble without opposition and declared that he had come "to save France from the offspring of the rotting nobles; to secure to the peasant the possession of his land;" to prevent the re-establishment of the old *barberies* and to "give France peace without and liberty within."

March 10th, 1815. Napoleon entered Lyons, assumed the position of Emperor and issued edicts recalling all the appointments in the State and army which Louis XVIII had made.

March 19th, 1815. Ney, who had been sent to

against Napoleon and had declared that he would " bring Napoleon back to Paris in an iron cage," joined him at Amiens.

March 19th, 1815. Louis XVIII fled to Ghent.

March 20th, 1815. Napoleon entered Paris.

Napoleon owed his successful return partly to the military support he received from the soldiers, partly to the support of the people; " from the day when Napoleon left Ghent till the nation at large was on his side."

Napoleon's Policy.

The Royalists offered little resistance. The Duchess d'Angoulême in vain tried to induce Bordeaux to rise against Napoleon; her husband failed in his attempt to recover Lyons; the Duke of Bourgogne failed to stir up a rising in La Vendée.

A. The conciliation of France.

(1) Ministers.

Napoleon secured the help of most of his former ministers. Dugouët became Minister for War; Cansat, who had of late been out of favour with Napoleon, was made Minister of the Interior to win over the Bonapartists; Fouché became Minister of Police.

(2) The Acte Additonal, April, 1815.

April 29th, 1815. By the Acte Additonal, Napoleon practically re-enacted the Charter, but made the Chamber of Peers hereditary and abolished the recently instituted censorship of the press. On the deathbed of Lafayette, the leader of the Liberal party, Napoleon encouraged the Chamber to meet early in June.

(3) The "Champ de Mai."

June 1st, 1815. On the Champ de Mars Napoleon took an oath of fidelity to the Constitution and reviewed his troops.

B. Military measures.

(1) War inevitable.

The news of Napoleon's return united the Allies at Vienna. On March 18th, 1815, they outlawed Napoleon and declared him "the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world." Great Britain, Prussia, Austria and Russia made a new offensive alliance against Napoleon and each undertook to supply 150,000 troops; Great Britain also gave her allies a subsidy of £1,000,000. Austria and Great Britain rejected Napoleon's overtures, and he saw he would have to fight against Western Europe.

(2) Napoleon's forces.

Napoleon raised 300,000 men by March. But, although his veterans joined him, Napoleon found that Prussia was strongly opposed to war and feared to call for conscripts until June; he proposed to raise 100,000 National Guards, but by June 15th had recruited only 125,000.

Although most of the soldiers were eager for war, Napoleon's marshals were dubious and he had no allies, for his brother-in-law Murat, King of Naples, who had risen against the Austrians in Italy, had been routed at Tolentino on May 3rd, 1815.

IV. The Waterloo Campaign.

A. The plan of campaign of the Allies.

The Allies agreed that France should be invaded from the North by the British under Wellington, and the Prussians under Blücher; from the East by the Russians under Alexander, who was to cross the middle Rhine, and the Austrians under Schwarzenberg, who were to cross the upper Rhine.

(1) Wellington.

Wellington was called from the Congress of Vienna to take command at Brussels. He had in June a total

force of 120,000 men, including British, Belgians, Dutch and Germans; of these 30,000 were British. His line extended from Mons to Ghent, and he occupied Antwerp, Ostend and other fortresses, with 30,000 of his troops.

(2) Blücher.

In June, Blücher had 115,000 men, of whom the majority were Prussians. His line extended from Lübeck to Charleroi.

(3) Napoleon's plan.

Napoleon knew that the immediate danger lay in the Netherlands, for the Americans could not arrive for some time, and the Russians had hardly left Russia. He resolved to attack with all speed the junction point of the British and Prussians, who were extended over a front of one hundred miles, in the hope that he would prevent the complete union of Blücher with Wellington, and then to drive Blücher eastward towards Lübeck. He would then attempt to drive Wellington out of Brussels and might hope to cut him off from the sea by an attack on his western flank.

B. Ligny and Quatre Bras.

Moving rapidly with 135,000 men, Napoleon on June 16th, 1815, drove Zieten's corps, which formed the extreme right of the Prussian army, out of Charleroi.

(1) Ligny, June 16th, 1815.

Blücher, although he had not time to collect all his forces, determined to make a stand at Ligny. Wellington concentrated his forces eastward to cover Brussels and support Blücher, but, owing to Napoleon's rapid advance, failed to join Blücher and was compelled to fight at Quatre Bras.

Napoleon drove Blücher out of Ligny; but d'Erlon's army corps, which had been sent by Ney to support Napoleon, was recalled to help Ney at

Quatre Bras and the Prussians withdrew from Ligny without being pursued. Napoleon thus lost a great chance of overthrowing the Allies.

Bücher withdrew not eastward towards his base at Ligny, as Napoleon expected, but northwestward towards Wavre to facilitate a junction with Wellington.

(2) Quatre Bras, June 16th, 1815.

Say's attack on Wellington at Quatre Bras was repulsed; d'Erlon failed to return from Ligny in time to give Ney the help which would probably have helped him to defeat Wellington.

(3) Grouchy.

Napoleon had separated the British from the Prussians. He now sent Grouchy to prevent the Prussians from coming to help Wellington, whom he resolved to attack with his main force.

C. Waterloo, Sunday, June 18th, 1815.

(1) The position and strength of the opposing armies.

Wellington, relying on Bücher's promise of help, drew up his forces on the crest of a low hill, Mont St. Jean; the line consisted of infantry and artillery and was two miles long. His cavalry was posted in reserve in the rear of the centre on the reverse slope. On his right was the village of Hougoumont; the farm of La Haye Sainte lay sixty yards in front of his centre; the hamlets of La Haye and Plancenoit lay in front of his extreme left.

Napoleon occupied the opposite ridge; the farm of La Belle Alliance, on the road from Charleroi to Brussels formed the centre of his position; the hamlet of Plancenoit lay behind his right centre. Two lines of infantry formed his front; they were supported by most of his cavalry; the Imperial Guard were kept in reserve in the rear.

Wellington had 67,000 men, of whom 34,000 were

British and the rest Brunswickans, Hanoverians, Dutch and Belgians, the last of whom were untrustworthy. It was "a motley army at best," in which fine languages were spoken. Napoleon had 75,000, mostly veterans, and was greatly superior in artillery and cavalry.

(2) Tactics.

Wellington resolved to sit on the defensive until the appearance of Blücher, whom he expected at noon. Napoleon determined to attack the British line in column; he wished to break through the British left to drive Wellington westward and place his army between the British and Prussians.

Napoleon delayed his attack until the sun had dried the muddy ground sufficiently to admit of rapid manoeuvres. This delay was of vital importance, as it gave the Prussians, whom Grouchy had failed to cut off, more time to join Wellington.

(3) The battle.

11.30 a.m. The French, in order to divert Wellington's attention from his left, attacked Hougoumont, which was defended all day by two battalions of the Guards, who held up the French left.

1.30 p.m. Blücher's infantry and two brigades of heavy cavalry repulsed Jérôme's attack on La Haye Sainte, but lost heavily owing to their too eager pursuit. But their success saved the day as the Prussians were drawing near, and Napoleon sent 10,000 men from his main army to stay them.

4.0-6.0 p.m. Ney led four cavalry charges against the British and Hanoverians forming Wellington's right centre, who formed square to meet them. In spite of the fury of the cavalry, the very heavy losses caused by the French artillery and the harassing fire of French sharpshooters the squares stood firm.

4.30 p.m. Blücher's Prussians, who had been delayed

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by faulty staff work, engaged the French right. Napoleon drew up his reserves under Lobau at right angles to his main line and recovered Flancenoit, which Blücher had taken.

6.30 p.m. D'Erlon captured La Haye-Sainte and thus made a break in the British line, but his men were too exhausted to advance further. Napoleon was unable to send the infantry reinforcements d'Erlon needed ; he made a serious mistake in not sending his reserve of Guards.

By this time Ziethen's corps had got into touch with the British left and Wellington was enabled to establish a solid front.

8.0 p.m. Napoleon, realising the grave danger from the Prussians, sent the Imperial Guard in two columns supported by all the infantry available against the British right and centre. The rifle fire of Blücher's Guards broke the French columns ; a flank attack of the 3rd Regiment under Collona added to their disorder ; the cavalry brigades of Vivian and Vandeleur, Wellington's last reserve, fell on them as they retreated ; Wellington now ordered the whole line to advance and it secured the French position without opposition.

8.0 p.m. (shot). Ziethen broke through the north-eastern point of the French front between d'Erlon and Lobau. Ziethen's cavalry met Vivian and Vandeleur in La Belle Alliance. The British were too tired for further efforts, but the Prussians vigorously pursued the routed French. Napoleon lost about 35,000 in killed, wounded and prisoners. Wellington lost 13,000 men, including 7000 British ; the Prussians lost 6000.

V. The Second Treaty of Paris, November, 1815.

a. The abdication of Napoleon.

June 21st, 1815. Napoleon reached Paris. On the

news of his defeat the Chamber called out the National Guard to defend Paris and demanded that Napoleon should abdicate.

June 22nd, 1815. Napoleon refused to assume a dictatorship and dissolve the Chamber, as Lassalle advised, and abdicated in favour of his son.

B. The Allies take Paris.

(1) Louis XVIII.

On Wellington's advice Louis XVIII crossed France and was soon accepted as King by most of Northern France.

(2) Paris.

A Provisional Government which had been established at Paris under the leadership of French and Talleyrand asked for an armistice, but Blücher and Wellington refused, as they thought that Napoleon, who remained at Malmaison from June 22nd-29th, might win over the army of Paris and continue the war.

July 7th, 1815. Wellington and Blücher entered Paris.

July 9th, 1815. Louis XVIII returned to the Tuilleries.

July 13th, 1815. Napoleon, having failed to escape to America, surrendered to Captain Maitland on the Bellerophon.

C. The Second Treaty of Paris.

The moderate terms imposed by the Allies in the First Treaty of Paris¹ were due to the fact that they were fighting Napoleon and not France. But the whole nation, and not only the army, had supported Napoleon in the recent campaign, and some of the Allies favoured strong measures. Prussia demanded that Alsace and Lorraine and French Flanders should be given up by France, as the possession of the Rhine territories would facilitate a French invasion of Germany. Alexander and

¹ Page 231.

Wellington held that the invasion of these provinces would probably lead to the overthrow of Louis XVIII and the renewal of war, and Austria feared that Prussia might get too large a share of the spoil.

November 20th, 1815. The Second Treaty of Paris provided that—

- (1) France should be reduced to the limits of 1789. She kept Alsace and the Territoire, but ceded Charente and part of Savoy to Sardinia and some districts to Switzerland.
- (2) France should pay an indemnity of 700,000,000 francs and maintain, at a cost of 250,000,000 francs a year, Allied armies which were to hold some of her frontier fortresses for five years.
- (3) France was to restore to their former owners all the works of art she had taken in recent years.

The terms of the Treaty were moderate; France lost very little territory; the indemnity caused by the last clause was unreasonable.

D. St. Helena.

Bücher, who had with difficulty been dissuaded by Wellington from blowing up the Bridge of Arcole and compelling the people of Paris to pay 150,000,000 francs, wished to shoot Napoleon.

August 5th, 1815. Napoleon was sent to St. Helena, which was too far away to enable him easily to return to France.

References:

- Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, chaps. XVII, XVIII.
- Napoleon. *The Last Years* (Lord Rosebery), chaps. 7-XXX.
- Life of Napoleon I* (Holland Rose), chaps. XXXVII-XXXIX.

THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA NOVEMBER 1st, 1814-JUNE 8th, 1815

In accordance with the First Treaty of Paris¹ a Congress met at Vienna on November 1st, 1814, to settle the affairs of Europe. Every Christian state in Europe was represented. The Emperor of Austria and Russia, the King of Prussia, Denmark, Bavaria and Württemberg and many German princes, including the Elector of Hanover, the Grand Duke of Baden and the Duke of Saxo-Wesme, Brunswick and Coburg, attended in person. Castlereagh and, later, Wellington represented England, Talleyrand and Talleyrand France, Laugard Spain, Cardinal Consalvi the Pope, and Bernadotte Sweden. Metternich was President, and his colleague, Count Stadion, Secretary. Hardenberg the Prussian Chancellor, Stanislaus the Russian Foreign Secretary, Wrede the Bavarian Field-Marshal, and Stein, who held no official position, were conspicuous figures.

The Emperor Francis acted as host, and Austria, although bankrupt, spent \$10,000 a day on lavish entertainments which seriously interfered with business and provoked the statement "Le congrès dure mais il ne marche pas."

I. Difficult Problems.

The Allies were united only in common hostility to Napoleon. The overthrow of Napoleon led to serious differences between them.

Austria resented the growing power of Prussia and objected to any increase in territory which might give Prussia a commanding position in Germany.

The Four Great Powers—Russia, Prussia, Austria and Great Britain—determined to settle questions relating to Poland, Germany and Italy among themselves.

Grave differences arose on particular points.

A. The Grand Duchy of Warsaw.

Alexander wished to seize the whole of Poland; Prussia and Austria claimed a share owing to the Partitions of Poland.¹

B. Saxony.

Prussia claimed the whole of Saxony, and Alexander, who, by the Treaty of Ratisbon,² 1811, had agreed that Prussia should be restored to her boundaries of 1806, supported her claim to Saxony as compensation for the loss of territory in Poland.

C. Italy.

Great Britain had promised to secure the independence of Genoa, which Sardinia was anxious to secure. She favoured the idea of the unity of Italy, while Austria was determined to secure Venetia.

Differences arose as to the recognition of Bonaparte as King of Naples, of which Ferdinand IV claimed to be the legitimate sovereign.

D. Germany.

The "mediatised"³ princes feared that their interests might be prejudiced by the establishment of a federation of the greater states.

II. The Revival of French Influence.

A. The Committee of Eight.

Talleyrand, as representative of Louis XVIII, the legitimate King of France, claimed that as peace had been made France should not be excluded from a concert of European powers; protested against the attempt of the Four Great Powers to manage the affairs of the Congress without reference to France. He succeeded in securing a place for France in the Committee of Eight (Prussia, Great Britain, Russia, Austria; Prussia, Sweden, Spain and Portugal) which formed the Preliminary Committee of the Congress.

¹ Pages 184, 225, 226.

² Page 398.

³ Page 421.

B. Division of the Four Great Powers.

Largely owing to the skilful diplomacy of Talleyrand, who tried to make France the champion of the smaller states, Great Britain, Austria and Prussia united against Russia and Prussia.

C. Saxony.

Talleyrand "made the defence of the King of Saxony the centre of his policy." He asserted that Frederick Augustus, whose house during the eighteenth century had been closely associated with France, was the legitimate King of Saxony and strongly opposed the attempt of Prussia, supported by Russia, to seize the whole of Saxony. He was strongly supported by popular feeling in Saxony and by the smaller German states, especially Bavaria.

D. Poland.

In November, 1814, Frederick William agreed to support Alexander's policy. Metternich therefore refused to agree to the acquisition by Prussia of more than one-fifth of Saxony and was assured by Talleyrand that he would be supported by a French army, if necessary. Austrian troops marched towards Galicia, and a partial mobilisation of the French army was carried out.

E. The Definitive Triple Alliance, January, 1815.

Castlereagh resented the aggression of Russia and the subordination of Prussia; the King of Bavaria and the other German states feared that the aggrandisement of Prussia would make her supreme in Germany and render their own independence.

January 3d, 1815. The Definitive Triple Alliance was made against Russia and Prussia by Great Britain, France and Austria and was afterwards joined by Hanover, the Netherlands, Bavaria, Sardinia and Hesse-Darmstadt.

B. The triumph of Talleyrand.

A European war seemed imminent. But on January 11th Talleyrand was admitted to the meeting of the Five Powers, which now became Six by the addition of France. The resolute action of the Five and a growing tendency to conciliation led to the settlement of the question of Poland and Saxony. Talleyrand had not unreservedly recognised France as a Fifth Great Power, but had broken the cohesion of the alliance formed against her and made her the arbiter of the Congress.

III. The Final Settlement.

The settlement of the territory of Europe made by the Congress of Vienna and the Second Peace of Paris was of great importance.

A. Prussia.

(i) Territory gained.

Prussia received about half of Saxony, the Grand Duchy of Berg and a portion of the Duchy of Westphalia; that part of Poland she had gained by the first two Partitions and also the provinces of Posen and the cities of Danzig and Thorn; she failed to secure the territories of Luxembourg and Mainz which she had claimed, but obtained territory on the left bank of the Rhine between Elben and Coblenz, including Cologne, Treves and Aix-la-Chapelle; Prussia also gained Swedish Pomerania, and the King of Prussia was recognised as Prince of Neuchâtel.

(ii) Criticism.

Her new acquisitions made Prussia twice as great as she had been in the time of Frederick II. Her territories on the Rhine, which ultimately proved of great value, made her the "bulwark of Germany against France"; the addition of a large Catholic population which had long been under French

Sophie brought her into greater sympathy with Southern Germany. Although the acquisition of part of Saxony called justifiable resentment against Prussia, the Congress of Vienna had made the German element in her population more predominant and "had brought her into co-operation or contact with almost every German interest." She had materially improved her chances of ultimately securing the leadership of Germany.

B. Austria.

(1) Germany and Poland.

Austria received from Bavaria the Tyrol and Salzburg; in Poland she kept Eastern Galicia; while Cracow, which threatened her eastern frontier, was made into a free city.

(2) Italy.

Austria received Venetia, Lombardy, Illyria (Dalmatia, Carniola and Trieste), Dalmatia and the seaport of Cattaro.

(3) Criticism.

Although Austria was to be President of the new German Diet, her gains in Germany were inferior to those of Prussia. Her acquisitions in Italy made her an important maritime power and were destined seriously to hinder the development of Italian unity.

C. The German States.

(1) The Federal Act.

a. Terms.

Germany was organized into thirty-eight states; Austria and Prussia joined only for the small Imperial territory they held, Denmark for Holstein and Luxembourg and the Netherlands for Luxembourg. The Diet of the Confederation, of which Austria was to be President,

consisted of the Ordinary Assembly sitting permanently at Frankfurt and a General Assembly. Each state was given independence in its internal affairs, but war between individual states was forbidden and the consent of the Confederacy was necessary for foreign war.

A. Criticism.

The rights of the constitutional princes were protected. Germany became a Confederation, not, as Stein advocated, a united nation. The ecclesiastical states disappeared. Although each ruler was required to establish constitutional government in his state, no provision was made for compelling an unwilling prince to establish constitutional rule. The Confederation, like the old Empire, lacked centralisation, and it would find difficulty in compelling Austria and Prussia to carry out its decrees.

(1) Bavaria.

Bavaria received Rhenish Bavaria, which extended from the Prussian territory on the Rhine to Altmue and included Mainz.

(2) Hanover.

Hanover became a kingdom and received East Frisia and Hadelheim.

D. Russia.

Russia failed to secure the whole of Poland, but obtained most of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw, which was called the Kingdom of Poland. Russia kept Finland.

E. Italy.

(1) The Two Sicilies.

Ferdinand IV was recognised as King of the Two Sicilies.

(2) Pope Pius VII.

The Pope's demand for the restoration of Avignon was refused, but he received the legation of Bologna and most of Ferrara.

(3) Tuscany and Modena.

Tuscany was assigned to the Grand Duke Ferdinand, uncle of the Emperor Francis, and Modena to the Archduke Francis' Ries, both Hapsburg princes.

(4) Parma, Piacenza and Guastalla.

These were granted to the Empress Marie Louise for her life.

(5) Genoa.

In spite of the promise of independence made to Genoa by Great Britain the city was given to Sardinia.

(6) General.

Murat's attempt to unite Italy had failed; the country was divided into separate states; the acquisition of Lombardy and Venetia and the establishment of Hapsburgs in the leading duchies greatly increased the influence of Austria. But the cause of France to Sardinia strengthened the power that was later to drive the Austrians out and unite Italy into one kingdom.

2. France.

France retained Alsace and Lorraine and her territory remained united and compact. She received from Portugal French Guiana; from Sweden, Guadeloupe¹; from Great Britain, Martinique and the Isle of Bourbon. France, largely owing to Talleyrand, was still one of the Great Powers.

3. Great Britain.

Great Britain received Malta, Helgoland and the protectorate of the Ionian Isles, and thus her command of

¹ Which Great Britain had given to Sweden in 1809.

the Mediterranean, the mouth of the Elbe, and the Adriatic was secured. Her colonial empire was extended by the acquisition of Mauritius, Tobago and Santa Lucia from France, Ceylon and the Cape of Good Hope from Holland, Trinidad from Spain.

The position of Great Britain, which exercised great influence owing to the subsidies she paid to the Allies, was strengthened by the failure of the Congress to deal with the question of maritime supremacy. But her authority was weakened when the Powers of Europe no longer found themselves dependent on her subsidies.

E. The Netherlands.

The union of Belgium and Holland under the King of Holland and the grant of Luxembourg to the House of Orange continued the traditional policy of Great Britain by establishing a barrier kingdom to the north of France and made the King of the Netherlands, as Grand Duke of Luxembourg, a member of the German Confederation. The sovereignty of the Netherlands was given to the House of Orange.

I. Switzerland.

Switzerland became a confederation of twenty-two independent cantons, and its neutrality was guaranteed by the Great Powers.

J. Sweden and Denmark.

Sweden received Norway and Danish Lauenberg, but their recent acquisitions of Poland and Swedish Pomerania gave Russia, and Prussia the dominant influence in the Baltic.

K. Spain and Portugal.

Spain lost Trinidat, but refused to restore Olivenza, which Portugal had ceded in 1801.¹ Great Britain acted most ungratefully in failing to secure the restoration of this territory to her faithful ally, which was compelled to give up French Guiana to France.

¹ Page 428, D.

I. The Slave Trade.

To the British people the abolition of the slave trade was the most interesting question the Congress had to consider. The efforts of Wilberforce had secured the abolition of the slave trade in British dominions on March 25, 1807. Similar action had been taken by Denmark in 1808, the Northern States of America in 1808, Sweden in 1813, Holland in 1814. But Spain and Portugal, which had taken advantage of the British slave trade to develop their own, refused to agree to the immediate abolition which Castlereagh urged the Congress to decree; they insisted that Great Britain had waited until her own colonies were fully supplied with slaves before moving in the matter.

February, 1815. The Congress condemned the slave trade as inconsistent with civilization and human rights.

M. Navigation of rivers.

A code was drawn up which defined the conditions of navigation of rivers bordering on intervening two or more states.

IV. The Holy Alliance, September, 1815.

A. Terms.

September 28th, 1815. Alexander I persuaded the Emperor Francis I and Frederick William III to sign the Holy Alliance, which declared that Christianity was the basis of good government and bound the three sovereigns to act with Christian brotherhood towards each other. It was later signed by the Kings of France, Spain, Naples and Sardinia and received the approval of the Prince Regent of Great Britain.

B. This "diplomatic apocalypse" was regarded in England as a reactionary attempt to strengthen the power of the monarch over his people. It had no practical effect, caused much ridicule and led Castlereagh to doubt if Alexander was quite sane.

V. General Criticism of the Congress.

A. The object of the Congress.

Pace had been made in Europe before the Congress met. The object of the Congress was "to elaborate out of the conditions laid down by the First Peace of Paris a political system which should secure to Europe an endurance of peaceful conditions among her States"; and this object involved the redistribution of the territory France had recently conquered.¹ The dissolution of the Congress was limited; it had no power of enforcing its decisions, and Spain, in spite of the Congress, retained Gibraltar simply because none of the Great Powers were prepared to go to war to sustain the authority of the Congress.

B. Incorporation of the system of Great Powers.

The Congress gave the control of Europe to the Great Powers, and the Congresses they held in the nineteenth century had great influence on European history. Russia had strengthened her position and secured great influence in the Baltic. Prussia profited greatly by the labours of the Congress, because the leading German state and she secured a strong position on the Baltic. Austria had increased her territories, but because less German and tended to rely upon her non-German subjects in Bohemia, Italy and Galicia. Great Britain remained mistress of the sea; she increased her colonial empire, but hardly gained from the Congress the advantages she might have expected owing to her efforts against Napoleon and the large subsidies, amounting to £800,000,000, she had paid to the Allies. France, though recently humbled, had reasserted her position as a Great Power.

Other states suffered owing to the predominance of the Great Powers. Italy and Germany were broken up,

Sweden and Denmark became third-rate states, Austria was weakened. But Holland and some of the smaller German states improved their position.

Plastic of existing principles.

The members of the Congress were not philosophers acting on well-considered general principles, but practical statesmen anxious to secure as much as possible for their own states. The attitude of the Congress was business-like and practical rather than philosophical.

(1) Nationality.

The principle of nationality was disregarded. Poland was not united, Belgium was joined to Holland and Norway to Sweden.

Thus the Congress of Vienna marks a retreat from the principle of *absolute nationality* which resulted from the French Revolution. But the principle proved too strong to be disregarded, and the action of the Congress in disregarding it met with only temporary success, for during the nineteenth century Belgium broke away from Holland, the German Confederation fitted a closer bond to nationality, Italy became a united kingdom and national feeling was maintained in Poland.

(2) Historical tradition.

In defiance of historical tradition Genoa was handed over to Sardinia, her old foe; Sicily was granted to Naples, in spite of her rebellion; Venetia was given to Austria.

(3) Religion.

Catholic Belgium was added to Protestant Holland; the Catholics of the Rhine were brought under the sway of Prussia, and those of the Grand Duchy of Warsaw became the subjects of Russia, the champion of the Greek Church.

(ii) Legitimacy.

Legitimacy was not generally adopted as a principle of political action, although Talleyrand asserted it in the case of Savoy, and Ferdinand of Naples was restored to his kingdom, although the Congress might have recognized Melega but for his duplicity.

(iii) Opposition to France.

But the Congress was united in its determination to prevent further aggression by France and the reduction of her territory, the establishment of the power of Prussia on the Rhine, of the German and Swiss Confederations and the formation of the Netherlands as a barrier state were the results of definite policy.

D. The results of the Congress.

The Congress did not settle the question of maritime rights, or deal with the Eastern Question or discuss the future of Spanish America.

But it led to a better understanding between the Great Powers and thus tended to maintain peace in Europe; it promoted civilization by its decree against the Slave Trade; it gave a better prospect of constitutional development to the people of Europe. "The results achieved by the Congress may be fairly described as a settlement which, though open to many criticisms, and in many respects inadequate, on the whole fairly met both the commission it had received and the demands that could reasonably be made on its efforts."¹¹

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- . Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, chaps. xii, xiii.
- Cambridge Modern History, Vol. IX, page 671.

NAPOLÉON

CHARLES BONAPARTE - LUCIA RAMCHAND

10

August 18th, 1798. From St. Andrews.

December 18th, 1893. His skilful direction of the French artillery led to the recognition of Toulon. Made Brigadier-General for this.

October 14th, 1795. Put down the insurrection of Vendée. Given command of the Army of the Interior.

A. Indian Oppression, 1750-1763¹

1385. Won the battles of Lodi (May), Castiglione (August), and Cremona (November).

1737. Won the battle of Nivelle (January). Peace of Campo Formio (October).

▪ **Translators**

B. Egyptian Campaign, May, 1798-August, 1799.¹

1798. Defeated the Mamelukes, captured Cairo. Nelson won the Battle of the Nile.
1799. Failed to take Acre (March-May). Routinely the Turks at Aboukir.

C. Opposed the Second Coalition, 1800-1802.²

1800. Overthrew the Directory by the *coup d'état* of Brumaire (November).
1800. Won the battle of Marengo (June).
1801. Peace of Lunéville (February).
1802. Peace of Amiens (March).

D. The War of the Third Coalition, 1804-1807.

1804. Received the title of Emperor (May). Formed a camp at Boulogne for the invasion of England.
1805. Nelson's victory at Trafalgar (October). Routinely the Austrians at Ulm (October), and the Russians and Austrians at Austerlitz (December). Treaties of Schönbrunn and Friedberg (December).
1806. Marie Joseph King of Naples and Louis King of Holland. Routinely the Prussians at Jena and Auerstedt (October). Issued the Berlin Decree (November)—the beginning of the Continental System.
1807. Won the battle of Eylau (February), routed the Russians at Friedland (June). Peace of Tilsit (July).

E. The Peninsular and other wars, 1808-1814.

1808. Marie Joseph King of Spain (June). Convention of Tudela (October). Led an Army against Moore (December).
1809. Defeated the Austrians at Abensberg and Eckmühl (April), checked at Aspern (May), won the battle of Wagram (July). The Peace of Schönbrunn (October).
- [1810. December 18th. Divorced from Josephine.]
- [1810. April 2nd. Married Marie Louise.]

¹ Page 402.² Page 403.

1806. Annexed Holland (July), the Papal States, the North-West Coast of Germany (December).
- (1807.) March 20th. Birth of the King of Rome.]
1808. Invaded Russia, won the battle of Borodino (September), occupied Moscow (September–October), crossed the Berezina (November).
1809. Made the Concordat of Fontainebleau with Pius VII (January), won the battles of Lützen and Bautzen (May) and the battle of Dresden (August), defeated at Leipzig (October).
1814. Fought several battles against Blücher and Schwarzenberg (February), abdicated April 9th.

F. The Hundred Days.

1815. Landes in France (March), defeated Blücher at Ligny the same day that Ney was defeated at Quatre Bras (June 18th), routed by Wellington at Waterloo (June 18th), surrendered to the British (July 15th), sent to St. Helena (August 18th).
1821. May 5th. Napoleon died at St. Helena.

H. Napoleon and the French Revolution.

A. The Child of the Revolution.

Napoleon asserted that he was the CHILD of the Revolution. The Revolution, by abolishing the old political system and paving the way for military despotism gave him the opportunity of establishing his power; his election as Emperor was ratified on November 6th, 1804, by a plebiscite of the people; in the Code Napoleon he embodied the best of the Revolutionary laws; he chose his servants and generals on their merits and without reference to caste. He gave both permanency and breadth to the influence of the French Revolution.

B. But in important points he was opposed to the ideas of the Revolution.

- (i) The Revolution had accepted the principle of nationality, but Napoleon in his desire to extend his dominions, showed himself strongly anti-national, especially in Prussia and Spain.

- (3) The excesses of the Paris mob during the Reign of Terror horrified Napoleon. He thoroughly distrusted "the people," whom the Revolution had mainly enlisted. To him the Paris mob were unable to be represented by force. He recognised the levity and foolishness of character which resulted from the rapid changes of the Revolution, and his colonial policy and the privilege of the gentry of Paris under his rule were partly due to the desire to divert the attention of the populace from the problems of government, with which he thought them unfit to cope.
- (4) The Revolution was mainly destructive, and failed to establish a strong efficient government in place of the old regime it had swept away. Napoleon, who realised the need of stable and orderly government, was a great constructive statesman.
- (5) The Revolution tended to decentralisation, and thereby imperilled the unity of France. Napoleon established an organised despotism with its centre at Paris.
- (6) The absolute government which Napoleon established was the negation of the idea of the "sovereign people." "He was the last and greatest of the aristocratic legislators who worked in an earlier age."¹

III. Napoleon and France.

A. Napoleon rendered great service to France.

- (i) His victories saved her from foreign foes.
- (ii) By putting down the insurrection of Vendée in 1795, overthrowing the Directory in 1799 and establishing a strong efficient central government he saved her from anarchy. "His life and his life alone stood between France and civil war."²
- (3) His internal policy gave France a good system of laws; he promoted education; he took active measures to improve trade and industry.

¹ Ryde.

² Fawcett.

- (i) In his earlier years he relieved the distress of France by the alien subsidies he forced into the Treasury ; he compelled other nations to support French armies. He issued as paper money, he imposed an income-tax.
- B. But Napoleon did much harm to France.
- At the beginning of his career his foreign policy was national and on the whole promoted the best interests of France. But later, possibly after the Treaty of Tilsit, his foreign policy did not prove advantageous to France. His determination to humble Britain, combined with his desire for the mastery of Europe, led him into vast schemes of conquest which drained the resources of France and gravely injured her commerce without securing corresponding benefits. After Austerlitz none of his wars had the approval of France.
 - Under him the government of France became a mere despotism ; private interests, civil and political rights were subordinated to the interests of the Emperor.

IV. Napoleon and Europe.

(a) Napoleon the tyrant of Europe.

Unlike Bourbon and Louis XIV, Napoleon was not content with the natural frontiers of France. He wished by successful war to extend the authority of France over other countries, and be ruled tyrannically over the countries he conquered. "War and despotism were inseparable and ingrafted parts of his nature."¹

He realised that the naval power and commerce of Great Britain were the great obstacles to his schemes. "Our Government," he wrote in November, 1797, "must destroy the English navy, or it must expose itself to be destroyed by those naval disorders." The Continental System was an attempt to make

¹ *Vulcan*.

Europe against Great Britain.¹¹ He wished to subdue Europe by France and [Britain] by means of Europe.¹²

He also grew with his success, sometimes "transgressed the limits of practical statesmanship and showed ambition and tyranny."¹³ Having saved France, he wished to make her the centre of a great Empire and regarded himself as a modern Charlemagne. But his ambition was not limited to Europe and the East attracted him strongly. While preparing for the Russian campaign he said, "We are going to make war and of Europe, and then to throw ourselves on other nobles less daring than ourselves and become masters of India."¹⁴ He desired to emulate Alexander the Great as well as Charlemagne.

(E) Causes of his failure.

He did not appreciate the strength of national feeling. The example of the successful national resistance which Spain offered to his aggression inspired Russia and Prussia to similar efforts.

The Continental System, by which he hoped to ruin the commerce of Great Britain, proved a failure. He failed to appreciate the financial resources of Great Britain and the dependence of Europe on British commerce.

He lost more than 600,000 men in the Russian campaign, "a supreme example of military tyranny,"¹⁵ which greatly impaired his prestige.

Many Roman Catholics strongly resented his treatment of Pope VII.

France had become weary of war, and in 1813 Napoleon was unable to raise the forces necessary to fight Europe, which his tyranny had united against him.

(F) Services rendered to Europe.

Although he showed himself the enemy of liberty at home and abroad, by introducing the奴性奴政

¹¹ Egypt.

¹² Syria.

¹³ India.

civilisation of France, Napoleon gave a great impulse to other countries; "by agitating nations Napoleon contributed to their civilisation." "He broke down the barriers everywhere of wisdom and prejudice; and revolutionised the spirit of the Continent."¹

V. Napoleon as a General.

- A. He believed firmly in what he called "the divine side of war," i.e. in the use of intellect as distinct from mere material force. He possessed in a remarkable degree "the gift of strategic imagination," and never lost sight of the broad perspective of a campaign.² His inspiring leadership won for him the devotion of his soldiers. His campaign before Jena was a masterpiece of strategy; he displayed the highest military skill in his manoeuvres against Blücher and Schwarzenberg in 1813.
- B. His plans were bold, but not, in his earlier period, impossible for a man of his practical ability, e.g. the campaign of Marengo, 1800.
- C. He could easily see the weak spot in the enemy's line. His power of striking hard and swiftly at the decisive point was of great value in view of the lack of cohesion among the forces of the Coalition. He followed up his victories with great vigour.
 - a. 1805. The capitulation of Mack at Ulm ensured the failure of simultaneous expeditions in Holland and Italy.
 - b. 1805. The victory at Austerlitz was due to Napoleon's vigorous and well-timed attack on the centre of the Austrian army, which had been weakened by the withdrawal of a large force which was attempting to turn Napoleon's right flank.

- c. 1815. His decision to attack Wellington and Blücher instead of awaiting the general advance of the Allies was correct; his rapid advance gained him a distinct advantage; he wisely aimed at the point where the two armies joined. His failure was due largely to lack of effective co-operation on the part of his generals.
- D. He generally made a skilful use of advantages of position, especially—
 - a. Of the line of the Adige in 1797, but
 - b. His choice of the line of the Elbe in 1806 was bad, because it was easy for the Allies with their superior numbers to turn this position.
- E. His policy of making his army "live on the country" enabled him to reduce the amount of his baggage and facilitated rapid movement. But it failed in poor countries, such as Spain and Russia.
- F. His exceptional physical strength enabled him easily to endure fatigue. In 1808 he rode from Valladolid to Paris in six days; he marched ninety miles in three days after the Dresden campaign in 1813; in the four days of the Waterloo campaign he was on horseback for thirty-seven hours and had only twenty hours' sleep.

VI. An Excellent Business Man.

Napoleon was a most efficient administrator and organizer. He showed great ability in adapting to present needs the most practical ideas of former generations. His personal intervention insured accuracy and economy in the management of finance. The equipment of the Army of England in 1804 showed his wonderful grasp of detail.

He made music the only ground for promotion and, as the whale, was very successful in his choice of servants. He could, if necessary, work eighteen hours a day and demanded a maximum of effort from others.

VII. Personal.

A. An orator and a writer.

Napoleon was a great orator and was most successful in appealing to the masses. Some regard him as a great writer. Mr. Fisher says "he was the prince of journalists, the father of war-correspondents." He had "an eye for theatrical effect and an incomparable talent for self-advertisement."

B. Selfish.

His own interests were his first object. In protecting them he showed no regard for the rights of others and no compassion for the suffering he inflicted. He said that Borodino, where the slaughter had been appalling, was "the greatest battlefield I have ever seen."

He gave generous payment for efficient service; at times he showed himself affable and kindly. But he had little capacity for friendship, and in the hour of his need was deserted by all (including his wife), except the few devoted adherents who accompanied him to St. Helena.

C. His influence on others.

His personality was overwhelming, and he exercised a remarkable fascination over those he met, e.g. over his soldiers, in spite of the callousness with which he squandered their lives, over Alexander I, especially at Tilsit, 1807, and over the crew of the *Bellerophon*.

D. Religion and morality.

He said, "I am not a man like other men," and thought that religious and moral restrictions did not bind him. Although in his will he professed adherence to the Apostolic Roman Church, he was probably a materialist without belief in Christ. He said, "I was a Mohammedan in Egypt, I shall be a Catholic [in France]." His private life was shamelessly immoral.

B. But he was a man of outstanding genius and many-sided ability. "He carried human faculty to the furthest point of which we have definite knowledge."¹² Mignet says that he was "the most gigantic being of modern times."

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¹² Lord Brougham.

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